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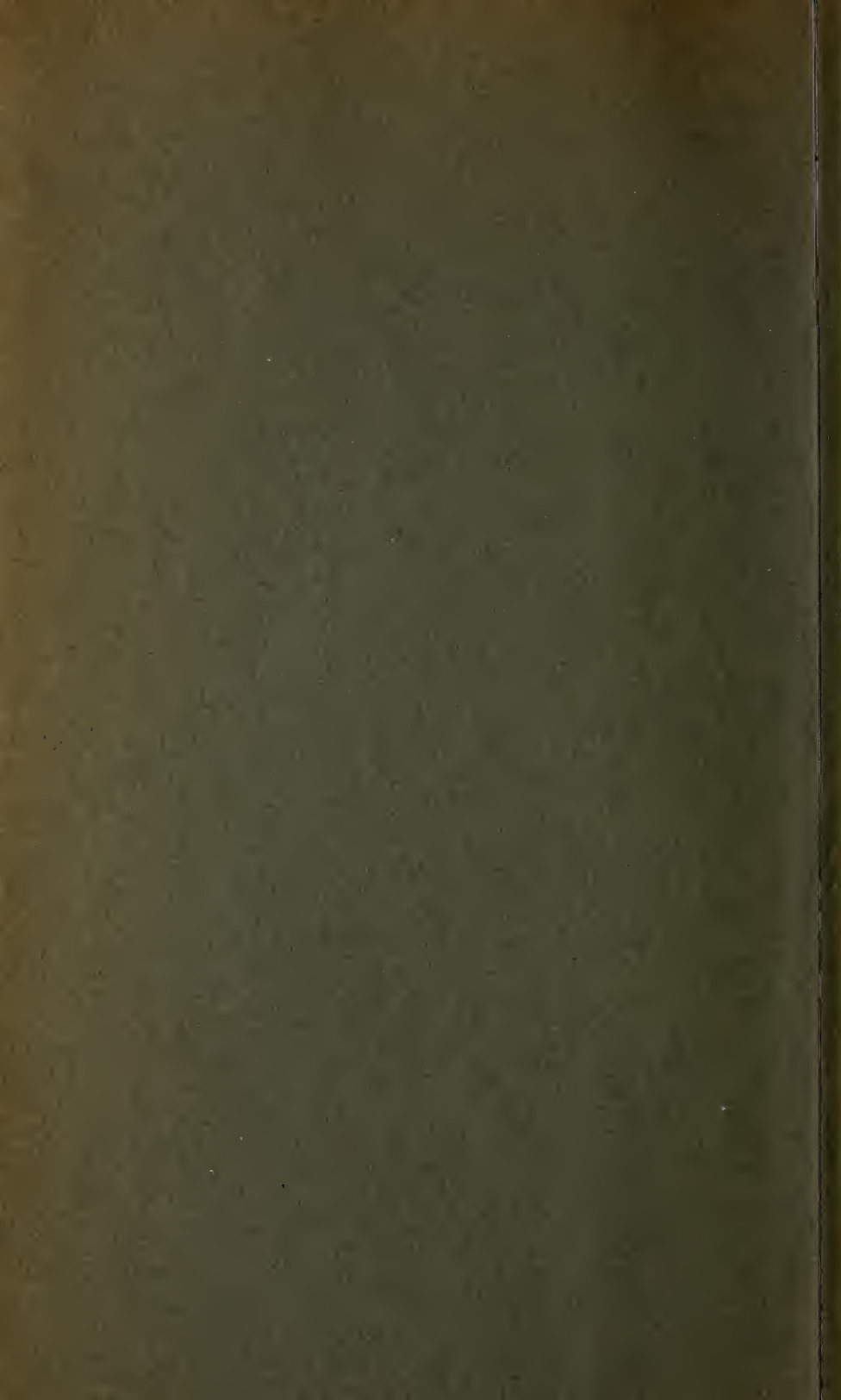
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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Volume XVIII

March to December 1925

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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. XVIII

MARCH, 1922

No. 1

George H. Proffit His Day and Generation

By GEORGE R. WILSON, Jasper

Dedicated to my sister, Miss Margaret A. Wilson

Information and incidents of thrilling interest may be found in the lives of many of our leading pioneers in southern Indiana. They erected our state, wrote our constitutions and started Indiana on a long and honorable career. The wisdom of some was sought in the councils of the nation, to its own credit and benefit; the voices of others were heard in congress, at public debates, and in our high courts with consideration, pleasure, and public benefit; the bravery of many was shown in our early wars and in the local but nationally historic battlefield of Tippecanoe, while the executive ability and war record of General Harrison called him to the White House.

One of the bright stars in a constellation we might call the "Southern Cross" of Indiana is George H. Proffit, of Pike county. My own county of Dubois is interested in Mr. Proffit because he represented the county in the legislature during the years 1831, 1832, 1836, 1837, and 1838 (five terms); and in congress, from 1839 to 1843, (two terms), twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh congresses; and because he was one of our pioneer merchants, even though his store at Portersville, our first county-town, may have been only a branch store of that at Petersburg. In this way we became, in a sense, personally interested in this brilliant pioneer orator, political meteor, and youthful statesman; this French lily of Louisiana, transplanted to Hoosier soil, led an eventful career for about

twenty years, living entirely, while in Indiana, under the state's first constitution.

The production of a biographical sketch places a responsibility upon a writer that is almost personal. For that reason we called into our services the intimate knowledge of Mr. W. D. Crow, editor of the *Petersburg Press*; Mr. Simon Morgan, grandson, and Mr. Geo. C. Morgan, great-grandson of Mr. Proffit; Mrs. Mary J. Taylor, and others to whom history and tradition had been handed down. It has been said that so many distinguished men have risen from apparently adverse circumstances on farms, or on the frontier in America, that it has become a common lot of biography to magnify the difficulties of such an origin and praise the man who has overcome such impediments. We can hardly say this of our subject, for he was born September 7, 1807, in New Orleans; and, died in Louisville, September 7, 1847, at the age of forty, but we can give him credit for making use of his opportunities and abilities, which is indeed worth while. It was Mr. Proffit's good fortune to be in touch with the best thought and temper of the state in his day. In this connection it is well to remember that eighty years ago the south and west were closely related from a political standpoint. In point of time, trade and travel, New Orleans was our metropolis.

The New England people pride themselves on their learning and general literary qualities, and justly so; yet we must remember that from south of the Ohio river—the cavalier half of America; the Jamestown section, if you please—came many flowery orators, statesmen and writers, even from as far south as the Gulf of Mexico. Patrick Henry, the orator of liberty days; Jefferson, writer of the Declaration of Independence, our title deed to liberty; Washington, the father of his country; Marshall, the construer and great conservator of the constitution, were Virginians, and therefore southern people. It is largely due to Virginians that the earlier public discussions and the later public papers so often partook of the quality of literature. Our own subject was a capable artist when it came to delivering an oratorical address in poetic prose.

We do not wish to record mere platitudes of excellence, without giving a reason, or the circumstances under which, or

through which, Mr. Proffit's dominant qualities were brought out; therefore a short review of pioneer days is carried through this biography. From the close of the American Revolution until the close of the Civil war public speakers in America were rather extravagant in their statements. Their orations were frequently of the bombastic order, which in our vernacular is appropriately named "tall talk." Even the most prominent and world renowned orators used the grandiloquent style of oratory, in courts as well as before the public. This tendency to extravagant oratory may be seen in the early orations of such men as Patrick Henry; the scholarly Webster; the famous Virginian, known as Henry Clay of Kentucky; Missouri's Senator Benton; South Carolina's famous Senator Hayne, the great southern leader; John C. Calhoun; and many others of Mr. Proffit's day. Such oratory usually follows successful revolutions, and frequently leads up to other revolutions. It is a matter of fact that the Indiana pioneers loved a spread-eagle speech. Eloquence of that kind reached a degree of extravagance, bombast, and turgidity, never before known, except perhaps, in the ritualistic formalities of the feudal ages. It was what the voter wanted and he got it, as he usually does, even unto this day. Such a flow and style of language may have had much to do in placing Indiana before the country in literature as well as in politics. It is also found in the advertisements for the opening of new pioneer towns, about 1830.

Mr. Proffit was a shrewd politician and knew how to handle the gift nature had given him, with the skill and art of the most successful orators of his day. His style of delivery enhanced his words with deeper meaning and more power than when ordinarily used. He knew how to apply the exciting adjectives to the sleeping nouns, with the skill of a master. Mr. Proffit was a good off-hand speaker, a success in an undress uniform as well as in the regulation dress suit of his day. He was a brilliant and witty local epigramatist and phrasemaker, whose ideas attracted any one who had the good fortune to know him intimately. He looked what he was. His features were full of intellectual strength and becoming graces. His glance was a mingling of the sunshine and the lightning of heaven.

Mr. Proffit came upon this earth during the first decade of the last century, when such wonderful literary men as Cowper, Macauley, Lytton, Hugo, Emerson, Schiller, Andersen, Brown-ing, Mill, Longfellow, Whittier, Poe, Holmes, Tennyson, Darwin, Fitzgerald, Lincoln, and many others were ushered in. Wonderful men were being born! Few decades of the century can outclass the first decade. It was a time when great intellectual men were coming. Could it have been in the air, or in the heir?

From 1830 to 1850, nearly all orators saw fit to have a high sounding beginning, an argumentative discourse, and a lofty and grandiloquent peroration, in which their figures of speech soar broad-cast to the high heavens. Occasionally arguments were replaced by things sentimental. There was a lofty and bombastic style not often seen in these days. The faded portraits of pioneer days usually show an orator in a full dress suit, or a swallow-tailed coat, with one hand stuck in front between the buttons in imitation of Daniel Webster, waiting for the applause to die down.

The decades from 1830 to 1850 were marked with mawkish sentimentality; it was an era of extreme sentiment and gush, perhaps better described as "swash"; no one seems to know just why. This is evident in the songs, pictures, etc., of those days. Mr. Proffit lived in an age when people were much given to hero worship and to extreme and sweeping statements. This is evident from his addresses and from those of all other orators of his day. There was much floridness and exaggeration in the political speeches of the middle period of the last century. The *Congressional Globe* is indisputable evidence.

To have been born in a log cabin was a source of popularity at the time of the Harrison election, in 1840, and it was magnified greatly for political effect. In pioneer days the minds of men were busily engaged, perhaps more than at the present time, in studying our government, compiling and applying new laws, promoting new enterprises, institutions, or policies, or in finding objections to them. Most men were intensely partisan, and were usually known as followers of the thoughts promulgated by their respective favorite politician or statesman, for whom they would fight at the drop of a hat.

Mr. Proffit served five terms in the state legislature. In 1831 and also, in 1832, he served on the committee on education; in 1836 he served on the judiciary committee, on enrolled bills and on canals and internal improvements; in 1837, he served on the judiciary, on corporations, and on canal and internal improvements, and in 1838, on the judiciary, canal and internal improvements. In 1837, Mr. Proffit received the second highest vote for speaker of the house.

In Governor Noah Noble's message to the legislature, December, 1836, appear these words:

In establishing the several routes composing the plan of our public works, they do not accommodate the interests, nor enlist the feelings of our citizens of Jackson, Scott and Clark counties, nor of those south of the New Albany and Vincennes road, and therefore they complain of its injustice. Of their dissatisfaction, information, both verbal and written, from sources that cannot be disregarded, has been communicated to the governor, that he may make it known to the legislature. In the last named counties, delegates have been sent to a convention at Jasper to deliberate upon measures for the promotion of their wishes, and through their representatives here, the character of the improvements proposed, and the extent of their claims upon the patronage of the state will be made known to the legislature. But whilst they complain, they acknowledged their obligations to the state, and mindful of their duty, they are ready, now as heretofore, to sustain the state in her measures, and to respect the supremacy of her laws. Good policy would seem to dictate a course that will quiet these claims and unite these small districts in interest and feeling with the other portions of the state, and I recommend the subject to your serious considerations.

During the same session, but a few days later, Mr. Proffit presented a resolution calling on the committee on canals and internal improvements to inquire into the expediency of constructing a turn-pike road from Evansville to Washington, by way of Princeton and Petersburg, and also one from Paoli to Mt. Carmel, by way of French Lick, Portersville, and Petersburg. Thus he endeavored to make Petersburg the crossing point of two improved highways. At one time, B. R. Edmonston, of the "Convention of Jasper," presented a petition in the house of representatives asking for a state road from Jasper to the mouth of White river. This "Convention of Jasper" was a voice in the wilderness calling for means of transportation, and the state highways now under construction

in Dubois and adjoining counties are part of the delayed answer.

Many pioneer speeches were delivered to win future votes for an internal improvement in the home county, or to tickle the fancy and raise the pride in the folks back home. The Wabash and Erie canal and its various branches, constituted a subject of serious consideration in Mr. Proffit's day. The routes of the canals were also a matter upon which an honest difference could exist. Various towns on the Ohio river demanded a terminal and great was the excitement months before even the surveys were made. It was under such circumstances that one of Mr. Proffit's canal speeches was delivered. As a future vote-getter in pioneer days as a high praise of the generosity and public spirit of the men of his own counties of Dubois and Pike, and as a collection of flowery compliments, it is so classic, that even Lord Chesterfield himself, might have to look to his laurels. The entire speech appears in the *Indiana Democrat* January 13, 1832. The speech was delivered in the legislature, in January, 1832, when Mr. Proffit represented the counties of Dubois and Pike. Arouse ye sleeping politicians of today, wipe off the dew-drops that sparkle on your garments, and listen to what the voters used to hear or read in days gone by. Mr. Proffit's speech is too long to copy here, but listen to this extract:

I stand upon this floor, sir, the wakeful guardian of the rights and interest of two counties, southern counties, sir, far distant from the scene of this contemplated work and non-expectants of a share in the distribution of its funds; we are as little interested in the work as any portion of the state can possibly be, but, sir, I have generous and liberal constituents, men, who in charging me to watchfulness and wisdom, mean not that I should indiscriminately oppose any measure, no matter how important, because not immediately conducive to their interest; men who would regret to see their feelings and generosity misrepresented in this hall by me their sentinel, sounding the alarm cry of danger, and no danger to be apprehended; shouting the fearful word "taxation" and no contribution asked. No sir, we care not where a work of character and importance is projected without jeopardizing the monied interest of the state, north or south, east or west, it shall have our fostering hand extended over it and it shall command our untiring exertions to its advancement and success.

This address falls musically upon the ear and awakens slumbering memories of men and events. It brings a smile, for the amount of state taxes paid by his two counties was very small. In 1829, in Dubois county, it was only \$209.68, and that included some delinquent taxes and penalties. This speech had foresight in it. The southern arm of the canal was built by way of Petersburg to Evansville. Mr. Proffit occasionally used this pun, at his own expense, "I am not only a Proffit but the son of a Proffit."

Mr. Proffit and the people of Dubois county had a vision of a railroad from New Albany, through Dubois county, to Mount Carmel, Illinois. On Saturday, January 7, 1837, Mr. Proffit presented in the house of representatives, a petition signed by sundry citizens of Dubois county praying for a rail or macadamised road from New Albany to Mount Carmel. A bill was passed to incorporate the "Mount Carmel and New Albany Railroad Company." Ten days later he was fighting in the Indiana house of representatives for an appropriation of \$150,000 for a road from Rockport to Jasper, and a continuation from Jasper, by the most eligible route to the Central canal, but before he could complete the work the house adjourned. The case was lost, so to speak, by a vote of 41 to 49. The Wabash and Erie canal and the Michigan road were financially helped by land grants, so why not aid other public enterprises? On June 6, 1838, Senators John Tipton and O. H. Smith had a bill before the United States senate to grant to the Mount Carmel and New Albany railroad company of Indiana, the alternate sections of the public land on the route of the road, on condition that the company should carry the United States mail for twenty years and its troops, arms, and munitions of war, forever free of expense. It was ably defended by the two Indiana senators. The bill was amended and then made a special order for the next day. It was not passed, yet, the Southern railroad is the vision that came true. Do you recognize it? It is the Biblical Jacob's ladder to the Knobs, and its branches now cover ten out of the eleven counties in Mr. Proffit's old district.

Mr. Proffit did excellent work in the Indiana house of representatives, but he never became a state senator. Fortune

failed him in that ambition, for Judge Elisha Embree, who was rather conservative on the question of internal improvements, defeated Mr. Proffit for the state senate, about 1833; and, in 1847, was elected to congress over Robert Dale Owen. Pike county was kindly disposed toward Mr. Proffit. In the congressional race of 1839, in Pike county, Mr. Proffit received 478 votes; Mr. Owen 227. Robert Dale Owen succeeded Mr. Proffit, in 1843, and Judge Elisha Embree succeeded Owen, in 1847.

You who love to ramble down the dusty corridors of yestercenury and who love to draw the curtains and peep into the mysteries of long ago, may study the traditions and read the printed pages of the annals of time, from the first dawn of written history to the twilight of yesternight and you may not find a character to parallel that of Abraham Lincoln—the child of Kentucky, the boy of Indiana, the young man of Illinois, the man of America, and, father of freedom who now belongs to the ages; and, you must not forget that he lived here among us, in the days when Clay, Proffit, Brackenridge, and other political orators were making the welkin ring, and he drank in such speeches as only they were able to deliver. Mr. Proffit was a political factor in southern Indiana before the Lincoln family moved to Illinois. He was full of political efficiency, of rare personal service, and of rich southern humor and, no doubt was enjoyed by Abraham Lincoln, for both Lincoln and Proffit knew there was more human nature in the world than anything else.

Mr. Proffit was known over all of Indiana from the Ohio river to the shifting sand-dunes of the lake counties. It appears that his was the pride and flower of the Hoosier oratory of his day. He was magnetic, popular, and successful; there radiated from him vigor, health and happiness. His presence was felt wherever he was. It is said he had the ability to give back to an audience its own thoughts and conceptions, illuminated, purged, perfected perhaps magnified, and transfigured until the product was better than the audience could produce, and by this art he won approval because he understood and was understood. He had the power to express a soul's emotion and appreciation. Occasionally he could make the place where he stood breathe forth an atmosphere of

dreams and fancies. Washington used long words; Lincoln used short words, as did most pioneers in southern Indiana, except in the writing of legal documents, but Mr. Proffit ran to neither extreme.

In his oratorical peregrinations over the state of Indiana, no doubt he went well prepared for his addresses, even to the extent of seven fingers. "Loaded seven fingers" was a pioneer expression meaning that a muzzle-loading gun of those days was so heavily charged that the ramrod stood out seven inches above the muzzle. The expression came to mean "well prepared", as for a speech. He could deliver a virile, pulsating American political speech, whenever necessary. Early pioneer orators were long on the glories of liberty and freedom, the rights of man, and kindred generalities, and usually full of historical and political platitudes. Mr. Proffit was so constituted, that if he fell in an undertaking, he would fall like a strong man; he would not hesitate to embrace the pillars of a house and pull the house down upon him. He was a master of sentences and could build them well balanced and full of grace, dignity, and ever increasing interest. He seemed always able to charm, fascinate, and carry away his hearers. He had the power to transform dry logic into sentiment.

There was an aristocratic southern color about him that was not altogether without its punishment and rewards. According to all accounts we have of him he was a pioneer orator in demand even in the elite east. His speeches do not have the breadth and depth of Webster, those of very few orators do, but in the mere use of words many of his sentences come upon us with a fancied Websterian ring of college days. He had a gift of words and a facility of expression, the result of much choice reading and careful study. For a western orator, his orations had an unusually wide range of thought, imagination, and broad appeal.

Under the uninvited questions that come from a modern political crowd, the rounded periods of the olden times, that embodied the eloquence of the past, have disappeared; and hard knocks, close reasoning, and pointed questions demanding a direct answer have taken their places.

In their stump speeches, during the heat of political campaigns very often our local pioneer orators used noisy rhetoric,

tossed out big adjectives and stinging epithets, and made real exaggerations. They brought this fiery oratory from the south. Mr. Proffit, himself, could make stinging adjectives cluster about an opponent's name, as honey-bees gather about the wild flowers of the countryside. There was a great deal of solemn humbug in frontier politics of eighty years ago. As a rule many pioneer speeches show superlative degrees, excessive tastes, and vicious language. They often contained much scurrility and abuse of the opposite party. Jackson used to say he had won all his battles, defeated all his enemies, and rewarded all his friends. In pioneer days the rancorous animosities of politics led to many a fist-fight. These early campaigns, usually grumbled with thunder, but in time, the violent eddies in the stream were flowing smoothly to the sea.

Among Mr. Proffit's political or oratorical peers or opponents may be mentioned three men, all strong and prominent Democrats, all sturdy and successful men of their day and exceedingly worthy and honorable, and all eventually members of the constitutional convention of 1850. They show the power and make of men with whom he had to compete. Mr. Proffit's most prominent opponents were Benjamin Rose Edmonston, Judge James Lockhart, and Robert Dale Owen.

Benj. R. Edmonston was a man of large, physical frame and great personal courage. He was devoted and strong in his attachments to principles or friends and ever ready to defend them. He was always bitter in his denunciations of what he considered wrong. These traits in his character fitted him to be a leader in the days of the early settlement of Dubois county, when personal encounters often settled the political status of a neighborhood or county. Many times before he was of age he demonstrated his physical strength in "fist and skull" encounters with the champions of his political opponents, as was customary in pioneer days. He weighed over two hundred pounds and when flat-boating was the means of transportation, he would frequently shoulder a barrel of corn and carry it upon the boat—a feat ordinarily requiring two men. He had more than an average intellectual ability, although having only the scant education the "bab schools" of that day afforded. He was a successful public debater and stump orator in the then First congressional district. He was

a presidential elector of this district in 1844 and cast his vote for James Knox Polk. His style was fervid and pointed, more calculated to arouse enthusiasm in his own party than to win over persons from the opposite party. Edmonston had red hair, a florid complexion, and usually wore a red flannel shirt. His friends called him "Red Rover." He was a native of Buncombe county, North Carolina, and was always jealous of the honor of his native state, but not given much to the use of "buncombe." His political speeches were spiced with his own solos, for he was a good singer. He was born March 8, 1807, died in August, 1856, and his remains lie buried in Dubois county. Benj. R. Edmonston was a member of the house during the 20th, 24th, 28th, and 33rd sessions, was state senator during the 29th, 30th, and 31st sessions of the Indiana legislature, a member of the last state constitutional convention, sheriff of Dubois county, and, at the time of his death, one of the state canal commissioners.

In the *Western Sun*, April 26, 1836, appears a column letter dated at Jasper, March 31, 1836. It is signed by Benj. Rose Edmonston. It is one of the very first letters, dated at Jasper, to find its way to a printed page. The letter is well written, full of political data, Biblical references, and the political irony of the day. It is directed against George H. Proffit, who was a candidate for state representative for Pike and Dubois counties. Few could compose a better letter today. However, Mr. Proffit was elected and served during the session which opened on the following December, and it was during that session he presented his railroad petitions.

Mr. Proffit's store at Portersville, not over eight miles from Mr. Edmonston's country mansion, may have been a Whig listening post for the purpose of prolonging Whig supremacy in Dubois county, for the county had been under Whig local government from its organization until 1839, when the Democrats came into county power, and remained there even unto this day. The Whig party, in Dubois county, went out with the smoking embers of the old log court house at Jasper, while its successor, the Republican party, has never been able to obtain a substantial foothold in the purely local and county government.

Judge James Lockhart was a man of acknowledged talents, a forcible speaker, a sound lawyer, and a good judge; he made no pretense to what is called flowery eloquence, but was rather a matter-of-fact, straightforward speaker and much endeared to his friends. He had few of the arts of the professional orator, and none of that studied grace and polish which some men often utilize in place of solid worth and good judgment; but he was a sober thinker, and never addressed an audience without conveying a message of value. He was "formed on the good old plan, a true and brave democratic man." Well poised with the serenity of calm judgment, he was duly and truly prepared to serve his people in the exalted position he held, but the voters did not send him to congress in his first attempt, in the year 1839. Judge Lockhart is described as being tall, large, and portly, forehead prominent, hair and eyes dark. He was a most valuable member of the late constitutional convention of Indiana. He represented the counties of Pike and Vandenburg, and stood by the ancient landmarks with great firmness. He was the first judge to formulate a code of rules for the government of his circuit courts. He died while a member of congress, having served in 1851, 1852, and 1857.

Robert Dale Owen was a Democrat of great force in the state. It was mainly through the efforts of Robert Dale Owen, a Scotchman, that the women of Indiana finally secured the right to own and control their separate property during marriage; the right to their own earnings; the widow's absolute ownership of her part of the deceased husband's property; and a woman's right to divorce a husband for habitual drunkenness and cruelty. He is so prominently connected with the pioneer history and development of southern Indiana that the writer may as well carry roses to New Castle as to place a laurel on his brow.

Mr. Owen was a man small in stature, with a large forehead, light hair and eyes, and prominent features. He looked like a sturdy Scotchman, recently from the "Land o' Cakes." He was a man of many parts and in early life wrote a play called "Pocahontas." He was a man of literary ability, a reformer, and a statesman. He was born at Glasgow, Scotland, November 7, 1801. His family became connected with the

New Harmony pioneer enterprise, a subject too large to mention now except by name. Robert Dale Owen was considered one of the best educated, most intelligent, and most influential men of his day in southern Indiana.

On August 5, 1839, Mr. Owen and Mr. Proffit were candidates for congress, and Mr. Proffit was elected. Mr. Owen carried the counties of Orange, Posey, Warrick, and Dubois; and Mr. Proffit carried Gibson, Harrison, Crawford, Spencer, Vandenburg, Perry, and Pike. In 1877, in an article published in *Scribner's Monthly*, Mr. Owen gave this incident of that campaign:

I may mention here, as illustrative of the style of thought and idiomatic expression among the simple people with whom I had made my home, an incident of later date, when I was in the field for congress against George H. Proffit. It was in a rustic portion of the district, and after I had spoken I had been invited as usual to spend the night at a neighboring farmer's. Happening to sit, during the evening, on my host's front porch, I overheard, from just 'round the corner of the cabin, the conversation of two men who did not suppose I was within ear-shot. Their talk was, as usual, of the candidates:

"Did you hear Owen speak?" asked one.

"Yes," said the other, "I hearn him."

"Now, ain't he a hoss?" was the next question.

"Well, yes; they're both blooded nags; they make a very pretty race."

Seldom, indeed, were better blooded men than Proffit and Owen entered for congressional sweepstakes.

Later, Mr. Owen became a member of congress and served his district well. While in congress he was a prominent character. He introduced a bill creating the Smithsonian Institution, and for many years afterwards he was one of its regents. At the south steps of the state house stands a bronze statue of Mr. Owen. The inscription reads:

1801—1877

An Appreciation

Erected in 1911 in honor of Robert Dale Owen by the women of Indiana in recognition of his efforts to obtain for them education privileges and legal rights.

Author, Statesman, Politician, Philanthropist.

"Write me as one who loved his fellow men."

In the musty tomes of congress are to be found many speeches of John Lockhart, Robert Dale Owen, and Mr. Proffit. In the Indiana constitutional convention of 1850, Mr. Owen was considered the best writer of correct English. The names of Edmonston, Lockhart, and Owen, in the order named, appear in their own chirography on the original engrossed parchment copy of the state constitution of 1850 in the spread-eagle signatures of pioneer days. That is the document referred to when you hold up your hand and swear "to support the constitution of the state of Indiana," etc. These men have been given full consideration that you may form an idea of the men with whom Mr. Proffit found it necessary to compete for the honors he earned. The highest honors to these men came after Mr. Proffit had passed to the great beyond. In the beginning of the race for congress, in 1839, Judge Lockhart was nominated, at Jasper, on what was then known as the "Van Buren ticket." It was the first congressional convention ever held at Jasper. In time Judge Lockhart withdrew and Robert Dale Owen was substituted. Mr. Proffit's election over Mr. Owen drew the attention of voters from distant states, because of Mr. Owen's religious principles.

Geo. H. Proffit was educated in English and French, and belonged to one of the leading families of Louisiana, where his grandfather held the office of surveyor-general under the French government. He came to Pike county about 1828 at the age of twenty-one, and engaged in the merchandise business. He is spoken of as "a merchant of the twenties." He became a member of the Indiana legislature and served several terms with distinction. He served in congress two terms. The east and south regarded him as a brilliant son of Indiana. Much praise was showered upon him by Whig papers of about 1840, during the Tippecanoe and Tyler campaign. He was a true southerner and was very fond of politics, hunting, fishing, and horse racing. In that respect he was akin to Daniel Webster of the same day and generation. Webster outlined many of his famous orations, and committed some to memory while fishing in the streams in and about Marshfield, his New England estate. Mr. Proffit was perhaps as good a fisherman as Peter of old, and he was also a fairly good fisher of men and votes for many years, as is evident from his political record.

Mr. Proffit may have constructed many of his flowery sentences while fishing in Mill creek, and in Patoka, and White rivers.

Oliver H. Smith, whose face may be seen upon a copper tablet in the waiting room of the Union Station, at Indianapolis, and who was the author of *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, a valuable pioneer volume of 1857, had a personal acquaintance with George H. Proffit. Senator Smith served his state in the senate, at Washington, while Mr. Proffit was a member of congress from Indiana. In his book Senator Smith has this to say of Mr. Proffit:

In the great campaign of 1840, which resulted in the triumph of General Harrison, there were few speakers of greater prominence than George H. Proffit of Petersburg, Pike county. He was in person below the medium size, short, slim, and spare, a good mouth, head small, high forehead, cheeks bony, dark eyes, light brown hair. He was quick and ready, his voice remarkably loud and clear, and he possessed a fluent elocution and a fertile imagination. The greater power of Mr. Proffit was on the stump before the people. I first became acquainted with him at Washington City, while he was in the house of representatives. He very soon made his mark in the House, and rose to a highly respectable position as a ready debater. As a popular speaker, in addressing the masses, few stood higher in the East. One evening, after dark, I was passing down the avenue from Capitol Hill, at Washington, when I noticed a large gathering up at the City Hall. I walked up, and found it to be a political Harrison meeting. Many transparencies were exhibited. General Walter Jones, the president, was seated on the platform, surrounded by vice-presidents. Just as I reached the skirts of the crowd, General Jones rose, and at the top of his voice said: "Is the Honorable George H. Proffit of Indiana in the assembly? If so he will come forward and address the audience." A voice in the crowd, "Mr. Proffit is unable to speak tonight. He exhausted himself at Wilmington last night." General Jones: "We are sorry to hear it, the people want to hear Mr. Proffit. Is Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts in the crowd?" A voice: "Yes, Mr. Cushing is here." "Let him come up to the stand." I was much gratified to see our Proffit stand higher with the multitude as a speaker, than Mr. Cushing, the distinguished orator of Massachusetts. Mr. Cushing took the stand and spoke over an hour. I heard few such speeches during the campaign. He was rather taller than Mr. Proffit, inclined to baldness, wide mouth and dark hair. He was fluent, loud, rapid and animated. The only fault I could find at the time with his speech, was its extreme bitterness against the Democratic party. I had been much on the stump in that contest, had heard many distinguished men, and my observation had satisfied me that soft words

and hard arguments was the true policy. The sun, and not the wind, made the traveler part with his cloak.

Mr. Proffit abandoned the Whig cause with his friends—Cushing, Wise, Upshur, Gilmer, Spencer, Irwin, and a few others, in 1841. His name was more fortunate than theirs, in not being rejected by the Senate. The reason, however, was that Mr. Tyler wisely withheld the nomination of Mr. Proffit until after the Senate adjourned, and then sent him to Brazil as our Charge. The senate at the next session refused to confirm the nomination, and he returned soon after, in very bad health, lingered for some time, and died at the city of Louisville. The last time I was at Petersburg I visited his tomb. As I stood silently by his grave, he seemed to rise as in the day of his pride before me, and then sink back to his mother earth. How soon we pass from active life to the sleep of death!

Mr. Proffit is interestingly spoken of in *A Tour Through Indiana in 1840*, a delightful and charming Indiana production from the pen of Mrs. Kate Milner Rabb. Mr. Owen is also mentioned with becoming grace and dignity. This wonderfully well drawn pen picture of the pioneer days of Indiana deserves a careful perusal if you are interested in the subject of this paper, and his day and generation with its barbecues, speeches, and processions. Politicians in Mr. Proffit's day did things and took chances no one would dare attempt in Indiana today. In 1840, Martin Van Buren was the Democratic candidate for re-election as president, and William Henry Harrison was the Whig candidate. It was during this campaign that Mr. Proffit rendered heroic work for the Whigs.

On page 342, of Goodspeed's *History of Pike and Dubois Counties*, we find this notice of Mr. Proffit:

During the "twenties" George H. Proffit came to Petersburg and engaged in merchandising. He later turned his attention to law and politics, especially the latter. He was a shrewd politician and an orator of great brilliancy, etc.

Thus a commercial history dismisses its mention of one of the most wonderful men accredited to Pike county.

It is related of Mr. Proffit that once upon his return from Washington, he brought with him a very fine carriage, carry-all or barouche, the first ever seen in Pike county. It was drawn by a team of dashing horses with a set of flashy harness. As was usual in those days, there was a large basket meeting

in the neighborhood of Petersburg. Mr. and Mrs. Proffit attended, coming in the carriage, their driver in livery, and Mr. and Mrs. Proffit correctly dressed, silk hat and all, after the fashion of the elite east. The approach of the Proffits created a sensation, and any one who knows the pioneers of the decade of the forties needs no prophet to tell him what result to expect. It practically broke up the meeting. The Proffit turn-out got the crowd, leaving the minister almost without a congregation. The people viewed, admired, and wondered, but the old taxpayers shook their heads, did not approve, and said that hereafter they would not vote for any one who made such a display on the money they were paying him to represent them in congress; that it was too much like royalty and not to the liking of an American citizen of southern Indiana. The amusing part about this is the fact that no other public speaker in Indiana could so bemean and condemn the Van Buren administration in Washington for its extravagancies, aristocratic tendencies and so on, as Mr. Proffit. Yet, Mr. Proffit was dressy, he could not avoid it; he was a cultured, educated, aristocratic man from the south and really at home in the social ways of Washington and the east. The southern cavalier spirit was in him and he could not help it; blood will tell.

Mr. Goodlet Morgan who heard the address used to relate a story to the effect that at one time Mr. Proffit had incurred the displeasure of some of the voters of Petersburg, whether through the defamation of his rivals, the carriage and livery, or some fancied wrongs seems unknown. Having in some way, become aware of this displeasure, Mr. Proffit notified the voters by placards at the voting places that he wished to speak to them once more before they voted. A large crowd gathered to hear him, and he spoke for an hour. At the end of the speech he secured practically every vote in the town, such was the overpowering influence of his eloquence, and the strength of his logic. It is interesting to know that he prepared for this event with the greatest care and the highest regard for "stage setting." He had a platform built with a canopy, dressed his two little daughters in their finest white dresses, and had one of them on each side of him. In beginning his speech he told the crowd that he wanted it to under-

stand that he valued its good opinion and its confidence even as he loved his two little girls. He told the crowd, that he could with fortitude and courage, although with unspeakable grief, follow to the grave the bodies of his beloved children and there stand until the last clod was thrown upon their little coffins, but he confessed that he had not the strength to endure the loss of the confidence of the masses who had so frequently honored him, whom he had sought to serve so faithfully, and whose good opinion he was sure he still deserved. He then proceeded with an exposition of his views and an explanation of his attitude with the result that the whole crowd was with him heart and soul long before he had finished.

In 1842, the Whig party began to separate itself from President Tyler and to detest him. By May, 1843, President Tyler was abandoned by the Whigs and was seeking support for his administration from the Democrats. In the main it was the old banking system that caused the dissatisfaction.

In 1841, Mr. Proffit left the Whig party. He was a turbulent and daring spirit. There was a French cavalier dash in him. His tempestuous public harangues suited the people of the times. His style of oratory was every where received with acclamation and huzzas. When it was known that he was to be present at a political gathering, it added hundreds to the excited throng. His spirit was suited to lead in battle. He was in the front rank as an orator in 1840. Do not blame Mr. Proffit too harshly for leaving the Whigs. He was placed in the front rank where the battle raged the fiercest. He would not accept a rear guard position when the danger was past. Mr. Proffit was a real idol of the common people when political excitement prevailed. His speeches were bold and searching against the Democrats of Van Buren's day.

Under our first constitution, state elections were held annually in August; the legislature convened in December and everybody talked politics. Party conflicts were frequent and extremely animated. Political fist-fights were common; for heated discussions were conducive to ugly words and combats, yet after all, they were sponsors of our present local political knowledge. The early newspapers of Indiana contained very little of what we now call local news. Politics was the chief item of interest in pioneer days, and aside from a few brief

items from the outside world column after column was given over to the discussion of national and state political questions. Political booklets, or tracts, were printed and circulated, and in this way Indiana eventually became a close state, politically. Many of the booklets were severe in tone and argument.

Mr. Proffit's biography gives us valuable glimpses of the days when Indiana was in the turmoil of annual elections in the dog days of every August. No sooner was one election over, than they began their stump speeches for revenge at the next general election. Today when a man is a candidate for congress we are permitted to speak to him as "running for congress." In pioneer days a candidate for congress was spoken of as "standing a poll for congress."

In 1839, the Whig candidates for the nomination to congress in the first district were John A. Brackenridge, G. Burton Thompson and Geo. H. Proffit. Mr. Proffit was nominated at Rockport. He received five votes out of the eight that were cast. The convention was conducted on the county unit system. The votes of Dubois, Pike, Gibson, Vanderburg, and Posey were cast for Mr. Proffit. Each county had one vote. Crawford county voted for Senator G. Burton Thompson, of Perry county, while Spencer and Warrick voted for Brackenridge. Perry, Orange, and Harrison were not represented at the convention. In this convention Simon Morgan, John Hurst, and Dr. A. B. McCrillus, one of the founders of Jasper, represented Dubois county. Pike county was represented by M. W. Foster, John W. Posey, and Albert Hammond.

In speaking of an address delivered at Freedonia, April 29, 1839, by Mr. Proffit, the *Leavenworth Arena* of May 2, says:

Well may Pike and Dubois boast of their faithful servant—one who has done much for the enlightened and patriotic people that so often honored him with their suffrage. Mr. Proffit's speech was listened to very attentively. Many went to hear him, and at the same time harbored great prejudices against him, but afterwards were thoroughly convinced that he was the people's man—such a man as they would delight to honor.

The extent to which the pioneers would go to defeat a candidate is shown in a copy of the *Hickory Club* a pioneer paper, wherein, among other things, appears this statement:

It is currently reported in this county, and the people generally believe it, that he (Mr. Proffit) kicked the Bible out of his house and in mockery to the Christian religion administered the Lord's supper using cornbread and buttermilk. This is said to be true.

This statement was signed "Harrison County;" however, it was a coward's attack and not a county's. This was also charged against Mr. Proffit, in earlier campaigns in Pike and Dubois counties, but these charges were never substantiated. Time after time Mr. Proffit challenged any man to prove 'his charge against him. One slanderer said "Mr. Proffit administered the sacrament with whiskey, etc." This is mentioned here as an example of pioneer politics. Judge James Lockhart started to make this race for congress in 1839, but in time, Robert Dale Owen was substituted and became the Democratic candidate; then the "concoctors of the buttermilk slander" had all they could do to clear up another religious controversy. The "buttermilk slander" became so extensively circulated that ministers and other church people finally carded the papers as follows:

Petersburg, June 12, 1839. We, the undersigned, members of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches of Pike county having understood that a report has been circulated that Geo. H. Proffit of this county, kicked the Bible out of his house and administered the Lord's supper with cornbread and buttermilk, and was guilty of other disorderly and unbecoming conduct, deem it a duty incumbent on us, as good citizens and as Christians, to pronounce it a vile falsehood. Many of us have been acquainted with Mr. Proffit several years, from his first settling in this state, and he could not have been guilty of such improper behavior without it coming to our knowledge, and we regret that any person should be guilty of such gross falsehood as to charge Mr. Proffit with such conduct.

(REV.) JAMES RITCHEY,
(REV.) DAVID HORNADY,
SAMUEL STUCKY, JR.,
(REV.) H. P. DEBRULER,
SAMUEL STUCKY, SR.

Mr. Proffit's southern accent caused many of his political enemies to believe he was a foreigner. In closing a circular issued during the campaign of 1839, Mr. Proffit says:

I am a native of Louisiana, and every feeling of my heart is truly American. I have resided in this state eleven years, five of which I

have served in the legislature, and I assure you that if you should honor me with your suffrage for the office I seek, every opportunity shall be gladly seized to evince to you my gratitude.

To my competitor personally, I have no objections, he has always treated me as a gentleman, but to me there is a very convincing reason why he should not go to congress. I WISH TO GO MYSELF.

Mr. Proffit's victory, in 1839, was indeed a victory, for it was an early Whig congressional victory in the Pocket. Mr. Proffit won his laurels as an orator before he was thirty-four years of age. At a time when oratory was in flower in the American congress he was an idolized, popular Whig leader and a far-famed Hoosier orator, whose speeches were veritable Niagaras of forceful logic and rhetoric. One wonders where this Petersburg merchant acquired his ability and when he found time to keep abreast of the national questions of the day, to such an extent as to attract national recognition.

In August, 1839, George H. Proffit was elected to congress from this district by a vote of 6,008, being 779 more than Robert Dale Owen, the Democrat, received. Mr. Proffit was known at that time as a constructive Whig, yet men were not always known by party names. Politics was very personal. In the Indiana delegation to congress in 1841, all were new men but Mr. Proffit, who alone withstood the political upheaval of the campaign. During Mr. Proffit's last term in congress his associates were Andrew Kennedy, Henry S. Lane, Richard W. Thompson, and David Wallace, all exceptionally strong men. This election gave Mr. Proffit a prominence in Indiana and in many eastern states. The presidential campaign of 1840 was much of a frolic on the part of the Whigs. There were many jubilant and uproarious expressions of imprisoned mirth and fun on the part of the voters, and anything like calmness of judgment and real seriousness of purpose seemed to be absent from the Whig camp. Harrison was presented to the Whigs as a "poor man's friend"—while Van Buren was proclaimed an aristocrat. The Whigs charged President Van Buren with using golden spoons, with planting mulberry trees in the White House grounds, and with other so-called extravagances, etc. The Whigs claimed he was so "slick" that he should have planted "slippery elms." His enemies referred to him as the "Kinderhook Wizard." General Harrison's mili-

tary record was magnified greatly by the Whigs, a common custom in those days, borrowed from the Jackson Democrats. In the congressional election of 1840, when Geo. H. Proffit was again elected to congress, he received 190 votes in Dubois county while Judge Lockhart received 202. Mr. Proffit served in congress from March 4, 1839, to March 3, 1843. At that time Mr. Proffit was rated as a Whig, and since then few Whigs or Republicans, as such, ran any better races in Dubois county. Pioneer voters were men usually of few words and they were usually for a man, or against a man. It was not always a party question. Voters made no half-way choice. If they had no use for a man, they never told him to go to limbus; they told him to go all the way down. An idea of what was uppermost in the minds of people at any given time may be obtained from the subjects of their orations. In 1828 the fourth-day-July was celebrated by public speaking in nearly all parts of Indiana. Here are some of the toasts—"The Day We Celebrate," "Washington," "The Sages and Heroes of the Revolution," "The Cause of Liberty," "Greece," "The Present Administration of the General Government," "The American System," "Internal Improvements," "The Spirit of the Times," "Indiana," "The New Purchase," "The Army and the Navy." In 1830, some of the toasts were "The Day—The brightest and most glorious in the annals of freedom," "Gen. George Washington—the name conveys sufficient meaning," "The Heroes of the Revolution—may their fame be as immortal as the struggle was glorious," "Charles Carroll—the only survivor of the noble band who signed the Declaration of Independence," etc., etc. This was at a period in our history when, at least once a year, there was a feast of patriotism and a flow of patriotic oratory—a holiday that should by all means be revived.

In pioneer days toasts were the usual mode of expressing thought and sentiment. They were emphasized in various ways, such as—"Six cheers and one gun," "four cheers and one gun," "six cheers and two guns," "standing in silence," "three cheers," etc. In those days in southern Indiana political discussions and polemic societies were conducive to offhand oratory with perhaps equal parts of logic and noise. Political processions came into general use in the campaign

of 1840, and an accomplished orator was a dangerous opponent. In pioneer days a cheap politician was called a "rabble-rouser." The word explains itself, when separated exactly in the middle. Mr. Proffit was nearly the opposite of a cheap politician, but he knew human nature and he could hand out compliments with the skill of an artist. A few of the pioneer voters could spit tobacco into either eye of the family cat contentedly sleeping, with its back to a fireplace, ten feet distant, for there was a lot of plain living and some high thinking going on at the same time, in many a log cabin along the banks of the drowsy, sleepy, Patoka river, that beavers' paradise of gentle curves and graceful meanderings. The inhabitants felt honored at being designated and appealed to as taxpayers, American patriots and citizens, holding the destiny of a nation in the hollow of their hands. Mr. Proffit knew cabin life as well as that of Washington. He had touched life on many sides, and was in sympathy with the needs, hopes, and ambitions of our pioneers, but patriotism was his polestar after all; politics the means to an end.

In those early days a barbecue was a free-will offering on the altar of patriotism or politics, a great outdoor feast of the very fat of the land. The stump-speech system of electioneering was prevalent. It came to the Pocket from the south. Its peculiar advantages over the convention system of the east gave it a preference for many years. It was a school for offhand orators, and many of the statesmen of eighty years ago learned how to speak in the old-time political campaigns. In pioneer days, strong men like Mr. Proffit often went into public life from an inward call and a love of the highest distinction, often to the sacrifice or injury of their health or fortune. Distinction was the reward. In those days it was not exactly the caprice of fashion, not the accident of high rank, and not a distinguished social position that established a man's reception in a community—to do that it usually took his politics, or his position on some great state or national issue.

The Van Buren marker, at Plainfield, and the Van Buren Hill near Brazil, are amusing reminders of the days of early travel over the old Cumberland road. Mr. Proffit was a strong advocate for the completion of the Cumberland road, the great

national highway through Indiana, and on February 8, 1840, wrote the *Spirit of '76*, a Whig paper of Indianapolis, blaming the Van Buren administration for lack of support to the great highway. On the 14th of June, 1840, Mr. Proffit wrote the same paper denouncing Tilghman Howard, the Democrat candidate for governor of Indiana, for leaving his seat in congress to look after his political fences at home, while bills for the up-keep of the road were pending in congress. In the *Spirit of '76*, under dates of July 11 and 18, of the year 1840, may be found Mr. Proffit's speech, delivered in the house of representatives, at Washington, on April 27 of that year. It is on the general appropriation bill. It is a severe indictment of Van Buren's administration, and is probably "loaded seven fingers."

Near the opening of his speech Mr. Proffit says:

It required no stretch of intellect to perceive that the order had gone forth to vote down every proposition of the minority; and, sir, up to this hour, that order has been most implicitly obeyed. It comports not with my taste to describe the tumult, the legislative depravity, the utter recklessness which I have here witnessed. It has been but a combination of the disgraceful scene with which our sitting opened; and it is now lamentably palpable that a congress which commenced in revolution, riot, and anarchy, must terminate in disorder and disgrace, etc.

The speech is a long one, and a severe one. In closing, Mr. Proffit said:

I take no pleasure in criticising the course of my government; I know the fallibility of human nature. I regret being compelled to show my fellow-citizens the corruptions of their government. I regret that this corruption exists. I am sorry that the necessity is forced upon me to take any thing like a prominent position in denouncing the conduct of the administration. I know that a faithful discharge will draw down the execrations and base calumnies of the administration presses; our motives impugned; public course misrepresented; private character assailed; 'life's life lied away.' But, sir, I, for one, will pursue my course with the same defying spirit which animated the poet when he exclaimed!

"As little as the moon stops for the baying
Of wolves, will the bright muse withdraw one ray
From out her skies—then howl your idle wrath!
While she still silvers o'er your gloomy path."

On May 14, 1840, in one of Mr. Proffit's speeches in congress he said he did not pretend to be very orderly in congress himself. Thus began the presidential campaign of 1840, with Mr. Proffit making the keynote speeches which were of great assistance in winning the fight for "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too," and for which services it is thought Mr. Tyler about two years later rewarded Mr. Proffit with an appointment to Brazil, but the senate was so hostile to Mr. Tyler, and perhaps to Mr. Proffit, that it did not confirm the appointment. Mr. Proffit was severe in his denunciation of Van Buren's administration, almost to the extent of an iconoclast. He supported General Harrison as a hero worshiper would, in the days of old.

On December 22, 1840, in the house of representatives, at Washington, Mr. Proffit submitted a resolution calling for \$450,000 to be expended on the national road in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois in 1841. He then "in a very animated manner, foretold the direful consequences which he had alleged would ensue, in case the house should not make the appropriation. He declared that:

The eight states of the Northwestern Territory would unite, and in their indignation would make their way into the hall to obtain their rights by force. He could not conceive why the people of that part of the Union should be so treated. The south got appropriations for its Dismal Swamp, and everything else; so, also, did the north; but as for his people, and those of the other northwestern states they could obtain nothing. 'Why!' said he, 'are the people of the West to be thus trampled upon? Mr. Proffit also discoursed on the grievances of the Western people arising from other causes. He then touched upon nullification, the tariff question, etc., and concluded by giving the House a solemn warning, that in case the resolution should be rejected, the people of the northwest would rise in their might when thier indignation would be an all consuming blaze, without a particle of smoke, which would destroy all that was not right.

Mr. Proffit could well have said to the New England members:

Be strong-backed, brown-handed, upright as your pines;
By the scale of a hemisphere shape your designs.

for Mr. Proffit did so shape his own designs. During the days when Webster, Calhoun, Benton, Hayne, and Clay were in the senate, and the subtreasury bill was under serious con-

sideration many ugly threats were made by the southern and western leaders and when reminded of it, they pointed to the ugly record of New England in the War of 1812, with its Hartford convention, resolutions, etc., as the school in which they had learned how to threaten the disruption of the Union. When reminded of her selfish attitude in the War of 1812, New England may well hang her proud head in shame. Mr. Proffit was using the Yankee talk, argument, or reasoning, as well as the southern, when he predicted a northwestern revolt, unless the national road was given more financial aid. The south and west learned their line of reason and talk from the scholarly and elite New England, but happily all such talk ended with the Civil war of 1861.

President Tyler vetoed several important bills. This caused much ill feeling between the president and those of the Whigs who still believed that a United States Bank was an absolute necessity. All the cabinet officers resigned except Daniel Webster, (whom General Harrison had made secretary of state), for Webster had started on the great negotiations with England over the boundary line between Maine and Canada. Webster tried his utmost to prevent the break between Tyler and the Whigs. Webster said it would ruin the Whig party, and help neither the bank nor the country. Henry Clay exhausted his power of ridicule and sarcasm in denouncing Mr. Tyler. Whig newspapers attacked Mr. Tyler and prominent Whigs denounced him. Mr. Proffit remained faithful to the president. The Massachusetts Whigs, in 1842, in their convention, declared a final separation of the party from President Tyler. It was the beginning of the end of the Whig party. Some Whigs left the party; the party left some Whigs.

At one time during a discussion about the northeast boundary of Maine, Mr. Proffit objected to the cost of the surveys but he withdrew his objection when informed three lines were to be surveyed. The present boundary as adjusted by Daniel Webster was the middle line. Mr. Proffit was not inclined to "twist the lion's tail," as was often the case in those days, but usually by a cheap grade of politicians.

In July, 1840, the house had before it the case of Lieutenant Hooe, concerning the enlistment of negroes, or other colored

persons in the service of the army or navy of the United States. It seems the conduct of a president in this case did not meet with Mr. Proffit's approval. Mr. Proffit said he was unqualifiedly opposed to the admission of the testimony of colored persons against white men. He approved fully of the laws of the state of Indiana, which provided that no negro, or mulatto, or Indian, or even the quarter-blood, should be admitted as evidence against white persons. He considered the conduct of the president in the case of Lieutenant Hooe as an insult not to be pardoned by any southern man and a direct attack upon the institutions of the south, etc.

On Monday, August 23, 1841, in the house, Mr. Proffit said:

He believed the Whig party was not to be found in these halls; they were to be found at the plough-handles and in the workshops. The Whig party succeeded, by the addition of the old Jackson men, who wished to reform the abuses of the administration. He compared a vetoed bill, which was concocted in the senate to make great men—to make presidents—to a limping animal that stalked up the avenue with a leg of brass and a leg of wood, and finally died with the "Botts." He said he belonged to the corporal's guard; and, if the member from Virginia would permit him, he would march as the humblest member of the forlorn hope. He thought the president (Mr. Tyler) should have a new cabinet; and if he were asked when, he should say NOW. If the present members went out of their own accord, so much the better. He went against Mr. Clay with sorrow, but he never could have Mr. Clay for his president. He felt the chains upon his wrists now; he did not feel them when he advocated Mr. Clay's cause before the people for thirteen long years. He said the name of the bill would be changed before it was passed, and he should not be surprised if its authors stole the title of the much abused Sub-Treasury bill for it. Mr. Proffit defended the president (Mr. Tyler) with eloquence, and to the fullest extent.

On Tuesday night, August 24, 1841, a full length effigy of John Tyler was displayed from a pole in one of the principal streets of Vincennes because in the exercise of a power vested in him by the constitution he vetoed the bill chartering a bank of the United States. Politically, Mr. Proffit fell for his friend John Tyler.

Mr. Tyler's elevation to the presidency, through the death of General Harrison, was America's first lesson—yet not learned—of the danger of being careless in naming a vice-presidential candidate. Mr. Tyler's administration would have been a most distressing failure had not Daniel Webster

remained his secretary of state until he completed his boundary treaty with England; then A. P. Upshur, who signed Mr. Proffit's passport, in time, became Mr. Tyler's secretary of state. Mr. Proffit was before the public at a time of great unrest. Sectional interests were slowly dissolving party lines. The symptoms of the approaching dissolution of the Whig party were clear, but the travail that was to bring into life the Republican party had not yet come to pass. Mr. Proffit was one of the star speakers in the defeat of President Van Buren and the election of Harrison and Tyler. It is to be remembered that Mr. Harrison died soon after his elevation to the presidency, and that Mr. Tyler became president. Mr. Tyler's administration did not meet with the approval of many eastern Whigs, but Mr. Proffit defended him; thus Mr. Proffit became the victim of an enflaming fire from the Van Buren Democrats and the eastern Whigs—some of the very men his vicious attacks upon the Democrats had helped to elect. He proved to be a foeman worthy of their steel, as the records of congress conclusively prove. He insisted upon their votes being recorded on all questions of party policy.

On March 11, 1842, in an address before congress, Mr. Proffit said:

He was endeavoring to do something to relieve the country and to restore the state of the currency. He was for the country; he was determined in the words of Washington, to have no party but this country. If the gentlemen chose to keep up an angry party denunciation, in which he admitted that he had himself too much indulged in the times past, they could do so; but for him—as he grew older he grew wiser. The Whigs had told the people they would endeavor to allay these party dissensions, and pour oil upon the troubled waters; they were pledged to this, and he was resolved to perform it.

On March 18, 1842, in the house:

Mr. Proffit spoke of the bitterness of party spirit at the present session, and the acrimony with which the executive and his supporters on this floor had been attacked; and, added, that many of these gentlemen who had been the most violent in their denunciations, had been seeking office from him.

Mr. Proffit regretted but little had been done by congress. Among other things he said:

Looking, sir, on the political struggles which have agitated and still continue to agitate, this country, names more often than things causing the rally, it is painful to witness the bitter fruits of error committed. No question of domestic policy settled, no particular principle finally established, everything seems to be the sport of the hour, or of the majority temporarily in the ascendant, etc.

In closing this address Mr. Proffit said:

We wish to forget party and think of our country, and our country only. We feel deeply and sensibly the delicate position we occupy, situated, as it were, between two contending parties; but we honestly and firmly believe in the correctness of that position, and will maintain it, convinced that it is our duty to do so, as Republican Representatives.

On May 4 and 19, June 10 and 30, and August 2, 1842, Mr. Proffit was faithfully defending Mr. Tyler on the floor of the house, from attacks made by Whigs as well as by Democrats. In a speech before the house, on June 18, 1842:

Mr. Proffit gave his definition of a Locofoco, whom he considered as a dissatisfied, discontented individual, willing and ready to tear down all government, in the hope that something would turn up to his own advantage. He thought there were Whig-Locofocos as well as Van Buren-Locofocos—men who were always telling the people that they were badly treated.

In 1840, Hanover county, Henry Clay's native county, in Virginia, gave a dinner in honor of Mr. Clay. At that dinner there was given a complimentary toast to Mr. Proffit. The toast reads:

George H. Proffit—surpassed by few in talent—by none in honesty. His country's good has been his object, irrespective of party.

The dinner was given at Taylorsville, Virginia, in the first half of 1840, at which time Mr. Proffit had not been in congress six months. During his first year in congress Mr. Proffit delivered a speech before an audience of ten thousand at West Chester, Pennsylvania. Its effect may be imagined for after the applause had subsided nine cheers were spontaneously given by the assembly. The first year Mr. Proffit was in congress a correspondent of the *New York Herald*, then a neutral paper, wrote his paper as follows:

For an hour and a half, Mr. Proffit kept the House convulsed with laughter. He is decidedly original. He thinks exactly as no other man ever thought or ever will think—as no other mortal ever can think. He is a man of unquestionable talent; and, as a partisan, may be ranked as the most ardent and rabid of the Harrison party. John Randolph once said that he would walk a mile to kick a sheep; and I suppose that Mr. Proffit would traverse the whole of the greater prairies of the West to demolish a locofoco, as such; and yet few men possess, as a man, better feelings than he does. He is always good natured and complacent to all and as he possesses strong conversational powers, a ready, and a rich store of wit, and a large fund of anecdotes, he is popular with all parties. As a representative, he is industrious and attentive to the interests of the people, and may be regarded by them as a faithful and constant agent.

From the records of congress it appears Mr. Proffit was a fiery, extemporaneous speaker, often on the floor and in the heat of debate, but it does not appear that he was ever charged with loquacity. He had done much to elect Harrison and Tyler, who received 234 out of 294 electoral votes. Gen. Harrison was moderately in favor of a bank; Tyler was opposed to a bank. Tyler was a Virginian and not a Whig in its generally accepted term. He was a "state-rights" Whig or Democrat, with emphasis on the compound adjective, and is now generally recorded as a Democrat in our histories. This ticket was elected at a time when the west was supplying presidential candidates and demanding serious consideration. In a sense, Tyler was a Democratic tail to a Whig kite. Had President Harrison lived out his term, it is apparent, Mr. Proffit would have been very powerful in the councils of the party, but Mr. Tyler was not a very popular president, and the burden of defending his administration fell upon such men as Mr. Proffit, who were, to some extent, responsible for his election; thus Mr. Proffit's last term in congress was one of defending the president, a task not in harmony with his aggressive spirit. President Tyler was a Virginia "State-Rights Whig" who became a Democrat and is probably best known as a negative statesman, who quarreled with the Whig leaders, vetoed many bills, among them the fiscal bank bills and the protective tariff bill (of 1842); opposed the Ashburton treaty and the annexation of Texas; and favored the Confederate cause of 1861, etc. In 1840, Mr. Proffit carried Harri-

son's banner, and beat Tyler's drum; they were elected, but Mr. Tyler proved a hard man to justify. The burden fell upon Mr. Proffit to an unusual extent.

On January 10, 1843, in the house, Congressman Botts, of Virginia, brought forward articles of impeachment against President Tyler, who came from his own state. The vote stood 83 yeas and 127 nays. Thus it was decided the president was unimpeached and unimpeachable. Mr. Proffit voted against the impeachment of the president, but said:

For his part, he would have been perfectly willing that the impeachment should have gone on, as he would like to see the black silk gloves, and other trappings of a court of impeachment, but he did not vote for the resolution, because he did not believe in the truth of the charges, or that they contained impeachable matter.

On Friday, March 3, 1843, the last day of his last term, Mr. Proffit, Mr. Wise, and some others, were at the desk of Mr. Fillmore, chairman of the committee of ways and means, examining the manuscript copy of a bill in care of Mr. Fillmore, it being the only one to which the members had access. The chairman told them they *must* take their seats. Mr. Proffit stood for a moment evidently in great astonishment, and then said firmly "*Sir, I will not take my seat.*" A great sensation was instantaneously created, and much confusion ensued. A half dozen gentlemen sprang to the floor and each addressed the chair. Some asserted positively that Mr. Proffit was not out of order, and begged the chairman to bear in mind that the house of representatives was not a school house. During the excitement Congressman Oliver drew Mr. Proffit to his desk and succeeded in pouring oil on the troubled waters, and the affair was allowed to terminate—with Mr. Proffit's congressional career. Those were ugly days in congress and in one of his speeches in the house, Mr. Proffit told the speaker, if he could not get protection from the speaker he would come prepared to protect himself. In those days dueling was not uncommon and many men went armed.

Mr. Proffit is perhaps better known as a Whig, refined, and with a great respect for education and learning. Practically all the old eastern Whigs cultivated dignity and its allied graces, but Mr. Proffit may not have been altogether an ex-

tremist along that line, at least, not to the extent of arrogance. When you once thoroughly know an American gentleman, you can easily recognize a Hoosier gentleman. Mr. Proffit was both.

In 1843, President John Tyler, who filled out the unexpired term of William Henry Harrison, and for whom Mr. Proffit did heroic campaign work, appointed Mr. Proffit envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, to Brazil. His sheepskin commission reads as follows:

JOHN TYLER

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To GEORGE H. PROFITT, Greeting:

Reposing special trust and confidence in your Integrity, Prudence and Ability, I DO APPOINT YOU, THE SAID GEORGE H. PROFITT, OF INDIANA, ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY of the United States of America NEAR HIS MAJESTY, THE EMPEROR OF BRAZIL, authorizing you, hereby, to do and perform all such matters and things as to the said place or office doth appertain, or as may be duly given you in charge hereafter, and the said office to hold and exercise during the pleasure of the President of the United States for the time being, AND UNTIL THE END OF THE NEXT SESSION OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES AND NO LONGER.

SEAL

of the

UNITED STATES

In testimony whereof, I have caused the Seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, the Seventh day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three and of the Independence of the United States of America the sixty-seventh.

By the President, JOHN TYLER.

H. S. LEGARE,

Secretary of State *ad interim*.

When Mr. Proffit started for Brazil he had a passport which read as follows:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DEPARTMENT OF STATE

To all to whom these presents shall come - - - Greeting:

Know Ye, that the bearer hereof George H. Proffit, Esqu岸, a distinguished citizen of the United States, is proceeding to Rio de Janeiro,

in the character of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the said United States, near His Majesty the Emporer of Brazil.

These are therefore to request all whom it may concern to permit him and the persons of his suite, to pass freely without let or molestation, and to extend to them all such friendly aid and protection as would in like cases be extended to citizens and subjects of other Countries resorting to the United States in the lawful pursuit of their business.

In testimony whereof, I, A. P. Upshur, Secretary of State of the United States have hereunto set my hand, and caused the Seal of this Department to be affixed, this 19th day of July

SEAL A. D. 1843, and of the Independence of the United States the sixty-eighth.

A. P. UPSHUR.

The original papers are in the archives of the Indiana University. With the penetrating glance of a seer Mr. Proffit saw in the future, the end of the Whig party, as such, and went over into the camp of the Democrats as did Mr. Tyler, when all was mist and uncertainty to the generality of his contemporaries, and he paid the penalty for his independent judgment. The man that makes a character worthy of history usually makes foes. History is usually very kind to great men; biography is not always so kind. The dignity of history and the truth of biography compel us to speak the language of humility when we say that Mr. Proffit's appointment to Brazil was not confirmed by the United States senate, and he was called home. Perhaps neither the president nor Mr. Proffit expected the appointment to be confirmed. Mr. Proffit served as miniister from June 7, 1843, until August 10, 1844.

Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, hated President Tyler and all his friends. He seems to have had a special dislike for Mr. Proffit, who was one of President Tyler's most trusted lieutenants. It is probable that Mr. Proffit had in some of his speeches exposed to ridicule some of Benton's weaknesses, as the latter's ability, however great, was immeasurably exceeded by his vanity. This sort of man always afforded Mr. Proffit an irresistible subject for the exercise of his power of ridicule. Doubtless he had exercised this more than once at Senator Benton's expense. In his *Thirty Years' View*, Senator Benton makes an incorrect statement when he says Mr. Proffit was not received by the emperor of Brazil. Read the following from Senator Benton's works:

At the ensuing session a rapid succession of rejections of nominations took place. Mr. George H. Proffit, of Indiana, late of the House of Representatives, was nominated minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the Emperor of Brazil. He had been commissioned in the vacation, and sailed upon his destination, drawing the usual outfit and quarter's salary, leaving the principal part behind, bet upon the presidential election. He was not received by the Emperor of Brazil, and was rejected by the Senate. Only eight members voted for his confirmation: Messrs. Breese, Colquitt, Fulton, Hannegan, King, Semple, Sevier, and Walker. He had been nominated in the place of William Hunter, Esq., ex-senator from Rhode Island, recalled—a gentleman of education, reading, talent and finished manners; and eminently fit for the place. It was difficult to see in Mr. Proffit intended to supersede him, any cause for his appointment except for his adhesion to Mr. Tyler.

Thus, Senator Benton squared things after Mr. Proffit's death for all the ridicule Mr. Proffit may have heaped upon him in his campaign speeches, but he had no reason for saying that Mr. Proffit was not received by the emperor. The details of his formal reception were well known to a number of people at Petersburg who were living twenty or thirty years ago and who heard Mr. Proffit describe the ceremony very minutely. They were greatly amazed that Mr. Proffit (a Pike county merchant) was not much embarrassed in being presented to an emperor, but Mr. Proffit was as Bill Nye said of Benjamin Franklin: "To him a king was no greater than a seven spot."

That Mr. Proffit was very prominent in congress for a young member, however, is revealed occasionally through Senator Benton's work; for instance, in writing of the attempt to pass the national bank bill, in 1841, when the measure had been vetoed by Tyler, and the attempt was being made to pass it in the House over the presidential veto (an attempt which was opposed by Mr. Proffit and in which he was successful, since the effort failed) Benton says:

It was disapproved and returned to the House with a message stating his objections to it, where it gave rise to some violent speaking, more directed to the personal conduct of the President than to the objections to the bill stated in his message. In this debate Mr. Botts, of Virginia, was the chief speaker on one side, inculcating the President; Mr. Gilmer, of Virginia, and Mr. Proffit, of Indiana, on the other were the chief respondents in his favor

It is quite evident from Senator Benton's reference to it that this debate was a very important one and attracted wide attention at the time. The President still had a large number of powerful and very able friends in both houses. The fact that Mr. Proffit was put forward as one of the two chosen orators and debaters to bear the brunt of the battle, selected from all the eloquent, able, and brilliant men in the House who were still Tyler's friends, is a tribute to his ability, that even his enemies could not ignore. Mr. Proffit had just passed his thirty-fourth birthday at the time of this debate. He was still on his first term as a representative in congress.

Senator Benton's reference to the fact that only eight senators voted to confirm Mr. Proffit's nomination as minister to Brazil contains nothing of reproach to Mr. Proffit personally, since these were the eight who stood by Tyler to the end. Caleb Cushing received but two votes, all the others in the senate being cast against approval of his appointment to an important post. At that time there were only about fifty members in the senate.

Sydney George Fisher, a well known biographical writer, in his *The True Daniel Webster* does not write very complimentary of Senator Benton, but classes him as a man of distorted views.

Evidently Mr. Proffit had sufficient grounds for attacking Senator Benton, and he did it while the senator was living. Senator Benton was a relay speaker in the long debates between Senator Hayne and Daniel Webster. Webster had to defeat both of them and he did it with becoming grace and dignity. Here is a quotation from one of Senator Benton's speeches:

Every canal and every road tending to draw the commerce of the western states across the Alleghany Mountains is an injury to the people of the West. They must trade with New Orleans and make that their great city.

Benton was opposed to the great national road through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, etc. That was enough to destroy any community of interest between him and Mr. Proffit, to say nothing of the senator's attempt to unite the west with

the south. Senator Benton's opinion of Mr. Proffit will not cause Mr. Proffit to lose any friends.

Naturally Mr. Proffit's adhesion to Tyler in the break with the Whig party lost him many Whig friends locally and gained him few among the Democrats. He was accused of deserting his party for the sake of office. Judge Foster, a local Whig of great influence and prominence, always insisted that Mr. Proffit had clung to Tyler with the expectation of receiving the appointment to Brazil. At this day, this does not seem probable. Mr. Proffit seems to have stood by Tyler from the very first when there could have been no immediate hope or expectation of reward; and indeed no desire for such at the hands of the President, since Mr. Proffit's ability would have brought almost any office he may have desired within his reach, provided it was within the power of his party to grant it. He was accused of having turned to be a Democrat, but as he was not active after his return from Brazil, his health having failed, it is problematical just what his stand would have been. It is unthinkable that having attained the heights when most men are just beginning a career, he would have thrown all away for the sake of an appointment of any kind when the highest places in the land were open to him. It is probable that he conceived it to be his duty to stand by the President and did so until he was gradually estranged from his party. He became involved to such an extent in the bitter personal quarrels that followed, and was so goaded on, that he reached the point where he had to stand with Tyler to the end.

Apparently Mr. Proffit had been well received in Brazil, and his recall home reminds us of the wisdom of old, "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country and in his own house." In 1841, when Mr. Proffit went over to the opposite party it caused quite a disturbance among the Whigs in Indiana. He was not a "Clay for President" man. In the Whig convention of May, 1844, Mr. Clay was nominated, but he was defeated by the Democratic candidate, James Knox Polk, of Tennessee. In this Clay campaign of 1844, the Whigs used to sing a song to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne;" one stanza ran:

Leave vain regrets to errors past
Nor cast the ship away—
But nail your colors to the mast
And strike for Henry Clay.

This was the campaign in which Mr. Proffit could not, or did not, "strike for Henry Clay."

The word W-H-I-G (We hope in God) is a time honored English term for those who opposed power and upheld the cause of liberty. In America, many men, whose sons became Republicans, took the name Whig when they felt it their mission or duty, to oppose what they termed the tyranny of Andrew Jackson. Abraham Lincoln, the great Republican, and greater American, became a Republican by the Whig route. One of the most tiresome notions of pioneer political days was that "a statesman must remain perfectly consistent from childhood to old age and never change his opinions." Even unto this day some people hold to this theory, not only in politics but in many other things. Such a doctrine is usually an enemy to progress, since it practically rules out the intelligence and the conscience of a candidate for office.

Many pioneers who came from the south, soon became prominent forensic orators. They did not always possess qualities essential in great lawyers, or deep thinkers, but they were effective as public speakers on the political issues of the day. From the Pocket the easy way to the open door of the world was by whiskey, the rivers, and politics. When our local pioneers spoke of "going to town," they meant to New Orleans. Not a few of our early statesmen came here from Louisiana, and much early business was transacted at New Orleans. It was our early market, and thereby much Mexican silver was brought to Indiana. Strange as it may seem, the Mexican dollar constituted the larger part of the coin of the pioneers in 1837.

Mr. Proffit was a man of ability and of serene soul. He was endowed with a delightfully joyous nature. He radiated good cheer and did not live by his hates alone. He was one of the best citizens of Pike county. American born with American ideals, he cherished America's traditions and honor. In the twilight of local history he represented the noblest ideals of local American life. All his short years were devoted to

serving the best interests of his country and the local people. To every worthy movement he gave his encouragement and support. How full is that page in the early history of Indiana when Mr. Proffit was an orator! He had an air of confidence, success, and gaiety. His features were sharply cut, refined, and delicate. The biography of this man is a pioneer history of his district, a measuring-rod of pioneer politics and Hoosier progress in southern Indiana. His name added not only a dignity and a spirit, but also an orator to the political influence in the Pocket. Perhaps after all, "the proper study of mankind is man."

Some pioneers could be referred to as men of dress, judging from the records left by them. In 1831, the law provided that the stocks of Indiana militia men had to be made of black leather or silk. Among articles stolen from Andrew Porter, owner of a boat in 1821, two miles below the mouth of Deer creek in Perry county, were "a close-bodied black broadcloth coat with a black velvet collar, a gold watch (cased as a hunting watch) and a yellow silk handkerchief"—fairly good evidence of some style. "Silk Shirt," a warrior of the Delaware tribe of Indians lost several horses at an Indian encampment near Vincennes, in 1820. He advertised for their recovery in the *Western Sun*, June 24, 1820. If his mother followed the traditional method in naming him, some settlers must have been wearing silk shirts at least a generation before Mr. Proffit put in his appearance in southern Indiana. Even in those days a voter could do what a candidate or a public official could hardly afford to do.

In the decade of the thirties men were far more particular about their personal appearance than they are at present. In an advertisement at Vincennes, in 1836, are these items:

Silk velvet, marseilles, and valencia vestings; Italian silk cravats; silk and linen handkerchiefs; gentlemen's silk, linen, cotton, horseskin and beaver gloves; silk half-hose, silk and satin vests, silk hats, etc.

In 1840, a well dressed gentleman wore blue broadcloth with plated gold buttons, a buff vest, and a high hat.

Mr. Proffit was never at a loss in the social duties of his day. By his friends he was considered one of the finest gentlemen in Indiana, while those not his friends, or not in sym-

pathy with his political ideas, were inclined to say he was "high-falutin"—a pioneer expression for well-mannered or perhaps aristocratic people. Well may we take our hats off to the ghost of any pioneer politician who escaped severe criticism. In the decade of the thirties Governor Noah Noble was a very polished man. In the decade of the forties, James Whitcomb, a Democratic nominee and a very polished man, became governor; so we see Mr. Proffit was in his class with good manners. In retrospect, we look in the mirror of history and biography, with pardonable pride and pleasure upon this pioneer orator of the Pocket and perhaps wonder why he came to southern Indiana. In his day thousands of flat boats, loaded with the products of the Wabash valley, reached New Orleans annually. Perhaps he came north to make his mark, or his fortune, for the same reason that hundreds of young Hoosiers went west fifty years ago. It would seem that of Mr. Proffit no citizen of Pike county could think without pleasure or speak without praise. If there are to be any paintings on the walls of the new temple of justice in that county paintings of Mr. Proffit, Mr. Foster, The Old Fort, The Buffalo Trail, and Abraham Lincoln moving to Illinois, should find appropriate places. It would help local history throughout all of southern Indiana. If I were a citizen of Pike county I would ask permission to suggest this to the county commissioners. The records of Pike county show that Mr. Proffit was awarded the contract for the construction of the first brick court house in the county, in the year 1834. This would indicate that he was a man of means or good credit, when he was yet very young. Mr. Simon Morgan, a grandson of Mr. Proffit, has an oil painting of Mr. Proffit. Not many pioneers of Mr. Proffit's day were financially able to sit for an oil painting though ever so crude.

Along the vista of a century of local history there are high points and bright lights. Mr. Proffit was a bright light in the wilderness of southern Indiana. He was qualified by inherited aptitude, training, and education to be an orator, and a leader of men. In 1836, General Harrison received 165 votes in Dubois county. Van Buren received 127. In 1840, General Harrison also carried Dubois county; he received 264 votes to Van Buren's 239, and since then only the Demo-

cratic candidates for president carried the county. In Pike county, Harrison received 474 votes to Van Buren's 318. To Mr. Proffit's efforts are due many of these Whig votes.

As has been previously stated, Mr. Proffit died in Louisville, Kentucky. The *Louisville Democrat*, of September 8, 1847, in speaking of Mr. Proffit's death said:

The Hon. George H. Proffit, who has filled several important stations in our country, died at the Comstock House about one o'clock, on the night of the 6th. inst. He has been afflicted for some time, we learn, and came to our city last Thursday for the purpose of procuring further medical aid. This will be sad news for his family, as it did not look for his death so soon.

This notice was copied by the *Indiana State Sentinel*, *Madison Courier*, and the *Western Sun*, and that seems to have been the extent of the notices. At that time all these papers were using column after column in explaining how Judge Embree came to defeat Robert Dale Owen for congress, by 391 votes, in Mr. Proffit's old district. The remains of Mr. Proffit lie buried in the Walnut Hills cemetery, at Petersburg. The inscription on the stone reads as follows:

HON. GEORGE H. PROFFIT

Born in the

City of New Orleans, La., September 7th, 1807

Died in the

City of Louisville, Ky., September 7th, 1847

Aged 40 years.

He was frequently elected to the Legislature from the Counties of Pike and Dubois, was elected to Congress from the First Congressional District in 1839 and re-elected in 1841; was appointed Minister from the United States to the Empire of Brazil in 1842. In all the various positions of Honor and Trust which he filled he acquitted himself with credit and honor and to the entire satisfaction of his constituency and the government which employed him.

The records of Pike county reveal, in the petition of the widow for the setting aside to her of her dower interest, that Mr. Proffit died the owner of 1,541 acres of land, practically all of which was in the immediate vicinity of Petersburg, some of which the town now covers. In addition to this he owned seven lots in the town and two very valuable lots in the city of Evansville. His personal estate was undoubtedly very large

for that day, since the settlement of other estates show payments of interest, debts, etc., to Mr. Proffit. Mr. Proffit left as his only heirs his wife and Emily; the latter married Goodlet Morgan a few months after her father's death and the estate was settled out of court; that is, the personal estate was so disposed of. Mrs. Proffit shared in Mr. Proffit's estate under Indiana's first constitution when a widow's estate was not under the more liberal laws that appeared later through the efforts of Robert Dale Owen in behalf of the women of Indiana.

At the time of his death Mr. Proffit was one of the wealthiest men in this section of Indiana. This was accumulated in the few years he was in Pike county. He owned good property in the city of Evansville. The property he owned at the time of his death would now be worth a handsome fortune. Most of this was made in mercantile business and in trading in land, although he did not hesitate to "take a chance." As an evidence of this it is well known that he wagered \$5,000 on Polk's election and won the money. It was not regarded as any "surething" either, owing to the great popularity of Clay. Mr. Proffit would also bet on a horse race, or back his judgment on a dog or cock fight. This sporting inclination was one of the secrets of his great popularity with the pioneers. He drank, as did most men of his day, but rarely to excess. Notwithstanding the fact that he mixed freely with the people, took part in their sports, and occasionally drank with them, he seems to have had a manner that let them know that while he could do these things, he was, after all, not really one of them. They had this feeling and seemed to have respected him for it. He was, after all, a southerner, with the southern man's class ideas.

While there seems to be no record that Mr. Proffit was educated especially for the law, he practiced that profession to a limited extent in Petersburg, and was unquestionably far above the average lawyer of that day in ability and learning. However, the profession at that time did not offer great prospects of financial return. The litigation was mostly trivial and small sums only were involved. Goodlet Morgan, who married Miss Proffit, told the following story about one of Mr. Proffit's experiences as a lawyer:

Mr. Proffit was engaged to prosecute a small civil suit before a local justice of the peace. The justice was a man of decided views on all subjects and one who made up his mind quickly. The evidence being in, Mr. Proffit arose to make an argument for his client. The justice promptly told him that it was useless to argue the case, that the court's mind was made up and that he was going to decide the case against Mr. Proffit's client. Mr. Proffit insisted on his right to be heard until the court finally said: "Mr. Proffit, the court has no objection to hearing you make a speech, but it is now supper time, the evidence is in, and the court here and now decides the case in favor of the defendant and against your client; the court will be here at eight o'clock in the morning and so far as I am concerned you may speak until sun-down and I will hear you. Court is adjourned." Mr. Proffit, who was a man of violent temper, when aroused, was making loud protests long after the justice had closed his office and gone home to supper, but gradually the ludicrous side of the matter dawned upon Mr. Proffit and he later enjoyed telling the story as much as his hearers enjoyed listening to it.

Mrs. Mary J. Taylor, of Petersburg, who was fifteen years old at the time of Mr. Proffit's death, was one of the play-mates of his two daughters. She was in the Proffit home countless times. She says that when in good health Mr. Proffit weighed about one hundred ten pounds. He was a charming man about home, of perfect manners and idolized his family. He was gone much of the time and on the occasion of his return his wife and daughters always gave a "party" to celebrate the event to which the young folks, and especially the friends of the girls, were invited. On these occasions Mr. Proffit was always at his best, kept the girls in a high state of delight with tales of his experiences as member of the legislature, member of congress, and minister to Brazil. His house was well furnished for that day. The entertainments given were always a source of pleasure to the young. Mr. Proffit took special pains to entertain the girl friends of his daughters, and soon made them feel perfectly at ease in his presence. Mrs. Taylor remembers him thus as one of the most charming men she ever saw. Mrs. Taylor also remembers his wife. She was Miss Mahala Wyatt, daughter of John Turner Wyatt, a prosperous farmer of near Petersburg, and was reputed to be the most beautiful girl of her day in this section of the country. Her father lived on the road from Petersburg to Evansville, and it was on one of his trips to Evansville that Mr. Proffit first saw her. She retained her beauty almost to

the day of her death, which occurred long after that of her distinguished husband. She had none of the education that distinguished Mr. Proffit; yet for her he always manifested the strongest affection. One of Mrs. Taylor's most vivid recollections of him is his devotion to his wife and daughters. The daughters also had much of their mother's beauty.

Unfortunately Mrs. Taylor remembers little of the political life of that day. She never attended a political meeting at which Mr. Proffit spoke, and says that girls of her age, as a rule, did not attend political meetings in those days. She does not remember exactly the way Mr. Proffit was brought home after his death at Louisville, but thinks it was overland on the old Buffalo trail to New Albany. She distinctly remembers his death and says that the death of Abraham Lincoln was the only other occurrence of the kind that ever caused so much excitement in Petersburg and vicinity. It seems that it was wholly unlooked for and unexpected by the majority of people and even by his family. She naively remarks that Mr. Proffit was regarded here as being almost as great as a president.

Mr. and Mrs. Proffit were the parents of two daughters, Emily, who became the wife of the Hon. Goodlet Morgan, and Amanda, who died at the age of nine years and six months. All the members of the family are buried at Walnut Hills cemetery at Petersburg. An inscription on a stone reads:

Amanda, second daughter of George H. and Mahala Proffit. Died September 18, 1845, aged 9 years, 6 months, and 3 days.

On February 1, 1848, an act of the General Assembly was approved which named Mahala Proffit as administratrix of the estate and also as guardian of Emily Proffit.

Some years after the death of Mr. Proffit his widow became the wife of John B. Hannah, a man well known locally, and very prominent in the Democratic party of Pike county.

We may not have measured this man correctly, or have visualized him properly. We have tried to make national facts shine through the surface annals of local history and through the data of biography; and, to show the reasons for any action or position Mr. Proffit took. Perhaps there are no hues so soft and delicate as those with which the imagination invests that which is unseen or only faintly seen, particularly so,

when one takes no delight in being an iconoclast. Remote-ness in time may have an idealizing effect. The voice that comes from the dim chambers of the past may have a subdued, softening influence, for it is a good practice to write the shortcomings of men of the past upon the sands of the sea shore, if they must be written at all, and let the waves wash them away. It seems almost as difficult to say anything new of the old days as it is to say anything old of the new days. If you doubt this, try it.

In conclusion, we may as well recognize, that democracy places a heavier burden on individuals than do many other forms of government; for that reason every citizen of our form of government should know his local, state, and national history; for, after all, history, like charity, should begin at home. Biography is history with a soul. He who knows his history well, does not find much trouble in judging where America should have stood in the World War, or where she should stand now. It is unsafe for a state to produce ignorant men and indifferent women. None should be ignorant of, or indifferent to, the high aims and ambitions of America.

Let us rake "embers out of the ashes of the past," and fan them into a blaze to illuminate the present and throw a headlight into the future. There are many embers of unsullied fame in southern Indiana. Shall they shine? There were many good men during the mid-years of the nineteenth century whose biographies we should compile for the help they may be to the future historian. Old documents and papers taken from the blurred and scattered records of a countryside, are often rich in a subdued splendor of historical data and human interest.

The power of this nation was made up, in part, by the generations of the past, whose bodily forms long ago crumbled into dust beneath the bramble and the briar of neglected burial grounds; but whose sentiments, spirits, and impulses move on. Woodrow Wilson says:

The history of a nation is only the history of its villages written large. Local history is the ultimate substance of national history.

Poets, painters, and peers have pictured the passing pioneers in pleasing poetry and polite prose; why can not we

ordinary mortals try it? History mellows with age, and historians themselves soften in their interpretations of men and of conduct. Some pioneers were leaders, great local historical figures, whom their grandchildren may well study, analyze, and admire. May the time soon come when the names of our pioneers will shine with the reward that justly belongs to them; however, the illumination of the past will not serve its best purpose unless its rays are able to penetrate into the present and to bestow guidance and confidence for the future. Often a generation will place an erroneous judgment upon contemporaneous men and events, and time only will correct the injustice.

Mr. Proffit's life was all too short, being only forty years to a day. He died too young, but most men die at the wrong time. His political career is a wonderful record of brilliant achievements, successes, and, in time, adversities. In fewer than twenty years he advanced from bartering indigo for mink skins at Petersburg and Portersville on the banks of White river, to being sent as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary by the president of the greatest republic on earth, and being received by the emperor of the greatest American empire at Rio de Janeiro, on the shores of the sea. It recalls to mind the lines of the poet:

Honor and fame from no condition rise,
Act well your part, there all the honor lies.

It may be said of Mr. Proffit, and of each of the other Hoosier pioneers mentioned in this sketch:

What lasting gratitude to them we owe!
'Tis from their toils our richest blessings flow,
Illustrious men! though slumbering in the dust,
You still are honored by the good and just!
Posterity will shed a conscious tear,
And, pointing, say, 'There sleeps a pioneer.'

We have accomplished our purpose if we have, for a short time brought back the pioneers to the very few yet living who knew them and have given some slight basis for appreciation by those who knew them not.

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The History of the Know Nothing Party In Indiana

BY CARL FREMONT BRAND, A. M.

INTRODUCTION

This study of the Know Nothing party was undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Logan Esarey at Indiana university. One of the most powerful movements in our political history has received comparatively little attention from historians. This may be due to two causes: first, it disappeared as suddenly and silently as it arose, apparently having had but little permanent effect on our politics or institutions; and second, the traces it left were few.

It is a difficult task to write the history of a secret society from the reports which become public. The newspapers of the time were full of Know Nothing news, but it was the opponents of the order who were so anxious to publish anything they could learn about it. Those who were favorable were pledged to secrecy and pretended to know nothing at all about the organization. The result of this situation is that the Know Nothings must be studied in a great measure from the reports of their enemies.

The records of the various councils would have been the best source, but they seem in practically every instance to have been destroyed when the council disbanded. It has been impossible to gain access to the private papers of Col. Richard W. Thompson and other leaders of the party. Until these become available, we will have to be content with the information that newspapers and contemporary political literature can give.

THE ORIGIN OF KNOW NOTHINGISM

Political nativism in the United States divides itself naturally into three periods. Until 1845 it was a local movement confined largely to New York city. In 1845 it entered the field of national politics, but died out within a few years. Revived under the auspices of the Know Nothing order it became national in 1854, but again after a brief existence it was stifled by the intrusion of a larger issue. It is with the last phase of the movement that this paper is concerned, but for a proper understanding of the subject a brief survey of early nativism is necessary.

Hostility to foreigners and Catholics dates back to colonial days, but as there were few Catholics in the country and immigration was so small as to be almost negligible, the oppo-

sition was based upon theory, rather than upon some ever present danger. After the Revolution a small but steady inflow of Irish Catholics began, most of whom settled in New York city. In 1786 the first Catholic congregation was organized there, the members of which were mostly Irish, who, to the number of several thousand, were settled in one district, forming a community noticeably apart from the native born citizens.¹ They soon became a factor in local politics.

The naturalization question divided the first political parties. The Federalists were strongly anti-alien. The first naturalization law, approved March 26, 1790, required only two years' residence in this country. A few years afterwards the Federalists extended the time to five years and in 1798 to fourteen years. The Democratic party on the other hand was very favorable to foreigners; in fact, it contained a very large element of naturalized citizens. When the Federalists were overthrown in 1800 the naturalization period was promptly reduced to five years (1802).²

The earliest exhibition of hostility toward Catholics came on Christmas eve, 1806. In a riot between a crowd of Irishmen and some non-Catholics in New York city a city watchman who attempted to interfere was killed by an Irishman. Only the arrival of the authorities prevented a general sack of the homes of the Irish Catholics.³ This isolated incident shows how early there existed an antagonism directed against them. The next spring, when some assemblymen were to be chosen, an "American ticket" was put forward, the first attempt at a Native American organization.⁴ This ticket did not prove to be successful.

For several years there was no further manifestation of the latent nativist sentiment, but all the time the Catholic population became more and more numerous until by 1826 they numbered twenty-five thousand in New York city alone. The native born viewed this increase with alarm, which resulted in the first great attempt at organization. In 1834 a series of twelve letters signed by "Brutus" appeared in the *New York Observer*. The real writer was Samuel F. B. Morse,

¹ Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York*, 17.

² Cooper, *American Politics*, 54.

³ Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York*, 18.

⁴ Cooper, *American Politics*, 54.

later the inventor of the telegraph, who, in a recent visit to Europe, had learned of the existence of the Leopold Foundation, a Catholic organization intended to promote church expansion in America. As the letters of "Brutus" voiced an alarm felt by many, steps were taken toward the formation of an organization, which in July of 1835 received the name of the Native American Democratic Association. The principles of the movement, as declared in its platform, were: opposition to office holding by foreigners, to pauper and criminal immigration and to the Catholic church on the ground that that church was a political machine.⁵ For the November elections of that year, 1835, the Whigs united with the new movement, beginning an alliance that was to last throughout the career of nativism in the state. But their combined forces were defeated. The next spring Samuel F. B. Morse ran for mayor, unsupported by the Whigs, and polled about fifteen hundred votes.⁶ In 1837 Aaron Clark, supported by a combination of natives and Whigs, was elected by a plurality of three thousand three hundred, together with a common council of the same politics. But the nativist movement was ruined by the fusion, and absorbed by the Whigs in the hour of victory.⁷

For a number of years nativism again was inactive. Then in June, 1843, a new organization was formed in New York city, which, in February, 1844, took the name, American Republican Party.⁸ In the spring election of 1844 this organization succeeded in electing its candidate for mayor and the greater part of the city council.⁹ The movement by this time had spread throughout New York state and similar organizations had been formed in Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and New Orleans; each of which cities, in 1844, elected in whole or in part, an American Republican municipal government.¹⁰ In May and July of 1844, the great Kensington and Southwark riots, a number of conflicts between Americans and Irish, took place in Philadelphia, which lost much sympathy to the cause

⁵ Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York*, 26.

⁶ Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York*, 29; Whitney, *Defences of the American Policy*, 240, says nine thousand, evidently an exaggeration.

⁷ Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York*, 31.

⁸ Carrol, *Great American Battle*, 264. Whitney, *Defence of the American Policy*, 244.

⁹ Carrol, *Great American Battle*, 265.

¹⁰ Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy*, 247-8.

of nativism.¹¹ In the November elections of 1844, the Americans again carried New York and Philadelphia, electing mayors in both cities, and sending six representatives to the twenty-ninth congress, four from the former city and two from the later.¹²

The purposes of the American Republicans, as given in an appeal issued by their executive committee of the city and county of New York were as follows:

1. To extend the time of naturalization (to twenty-one years).
2. To guard from corruption and abuse the proceedings necessary to obtain certificates of naturalization.
3. So to instruct and form public opinion, as to give native citizens an equal chance at least with foreigners to obtain office and lucrative employment.
4. To prevent the exclusion of the Bible from the use of schools.
5. To prevent riots, the violation of our laws, the desecration of the American flag and the shooting and murder of peaceable citizens when in the exercise of their undoubted rights.
6. To resist any further encroachments of a foreign civil and spiritual power, upon the institutions of our country.
7. To prevent all union of church and state.¹³

A convention met in Philadelphia, July 4-7, 1845, to perfect a national organization. Fourteen states were represented.¹⁴ The convention issued an address and a declaration of principles and named the new party the "Native American."¹⁵

The Native American party, however, was a failure. Each year it declined. A second national convention, scantily attended, met at Pittsburgh, then adjourned to Philadelphia, in 1847, where Zachary Taylor and Henry Dearborn were recommended for the presidency and the vice-presidency. But no campaign was made and the Native American party passed out of existence.¹⁶

¹¹ Lee, *Origin and Progress of the American Party in Politics*, 42 et seq.

¹² Cooper, *American Politics*, 54.

¹³ *The Crisis*, 8. Address of the Executive Committee of the American Republicans of Boston, 12. Proceedings of the Native American State Convention of Pennsylvania, 8, 15.

¹⁴ Indiana was represented but the names and number of delegates are not stated. Lee, *Origin and Progress of the American Party in Politics*, 229.

¹⁵ Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy*, 252.

¹⁶ Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy*, 256.

The passing of the Native American party left the field open for a new factor in American politics, the secret political society. There were many of these associations, but two stand out above all others in importance, namely, the Order of United Americans, commonly called the O. U. A., and the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, the Know Nothing order.

Of these the Order of United Americans was the first in the field. It was organized in New York city, December 21, 1844, and adopted the weapon of secrecy.¹⁷ Expansion was slow but steady. By 1850 chapters were organized in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and California. In 1854-55 the order appeared in nearly all the western and southern states.¹⁸ The O. U. A. was a social and beneficial society, with no program of political conduct. The secrecy extended only to the signs and ceremonies connected with its work. There was a uniform ritual for all chapters, but there were no degrees.¹⁹ In government, the chapters or local organizations were grouped into a State Chancery, which was the legislative head, consisting of three delegates from each chapter. The Arch-Chancery, in turn, was the national legislative head, consisting of three delegates from each State Chancery. The presiding officer in each chapter was called the Sachem. The O. U. A. was thrown into the background by the rise of the Know Nothing order. It reached its height of prosperity in 1855, when it was represented in sixteen states. After that date it declined rapidly.²⁰

The Native Sons of America was another society formed in December, 1844, in New York.²¹ The United Daughters of America, organized in New York city, November 27, 1845, was a woman's auxiliary to the O. U. A.²² The Order of United American Mechanics originated in Philadelphia in 1845. Its purposes were:

(1) Mutual aid and benevolence; (2) the reformation of the naturalization laws; (3) to oppose pauper foreign labor.²³

¹⁷ Carrol, *Great American Battle*, 252.

¹⁸ Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy*, 258-264, 272.

¹⁹ Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York*, 70.

²⁰ Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy*, 265-272.

²¹ Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York*, 64.

²² Carrol, *Great American Battle*, 258.

²³ Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy*, 312. Carrol, *Great American Battle*, 258.

The United Sons of America organized in Philadelphia in 1845.²⁴ Two societies, the Benevolent Order of Bereans, and the American Protestant Association, were founded by "Orangemen," protestant Irish whose antipathy to the Catholics exceeded, if possible, that of the native born Americans.²⁵

The Order of the Star Spangled Banner, or Order of the Sons of the Sires of '76, was conceived and planned by Charles B. Allen of New York city, who had never been associated with any of the other nativist societies. As early as 1849, he prepared his plan, but did not begin his work until the next year. Drawing a little group about him, he formed a secret organization whose qualifications for membership were far more restrictive than the O. U. A. Secrecy was specific and stringent. The plan of action was to control, rather than to make nominations, by concerted action in favor of such nominees of other political parties as might be agreed upon. It cost nothing to acquire and hold membership. At first there was no stated place of meeting. A private home or lodge room might be used.²⁶

After two years the little group numbered scarcely thirty. Then, under new leaders, steps to increase the membership were taken, and a thousand new members were secured in four months. Regular weekly meetings were instituted. This reorganization took place in April, 1852.²⁷ All this time the existence of such an organization was entirely unknown to the general public. In the local elections of 1852 and still more in 1853 it was able to take a decided stand. Then, in the latter year, its existence first became known²⁸ and for lack of a better name was dubbed the "Know Nothing Order" and under that name the Order of the Star Spangled Banner continued its career.

A revival of nativism came in the years 1853-54. The story of the imprisonment of the Madiari family in Tuscany for reading the Protestant Bible, it was said, roused the horror

²⁴ Whitney, *Defence of the American Policy*, 315.

²⁵ Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York*, 68.

²⁶ Carrol, *Great American Battle*, 268. Whitney, *Defence of the American Policy*, 281-2.

²⁷ Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy*, 283.

²⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 22, 1853.

of the Americans.²⁹ Catholic bishops were said to be attacking the American non-sectarian school system. In 1853 Father Alessandro Gavazzi, a priest and revolutionary, came to America for the purpose of agitating against the Catholic church. He was received in the same manner as Kossuth. On October 29-30 he spoke in Indianapolis on the evils of the Church of Rome, against Catholic schools, and of the horrors of the Inquisition.³⁰ At the same time, the lack of tact of Bedini, papal *nuncio* to the United States, who came to settle a dispute between the New York archbishop and the members of the diocese, roused American feeling.³¹ The thought that the ambassador of a foreign prince should have power to settle disputes between Americans was repugnant to most of our citizens.

The Know Nothing Order, taking advantage of these circumstances, realized its ambition of becoming national. A system of national, state and local councils was adopted and other arrangements for a widespread and numerous organization.³² The work of expansion was rapidly carried out and by the early part of 1855, every state and territory in the Union had been organized.³³

On May 14, 1854, a general convention met at New York city in which seven states and the District of Columbia were represented. It adjourned after making arrangements for a fuller gathering later.³⁴ On June 14 a Grand Council met in New York city at which thirteen states were represented.

²⁹ Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy*, 95. *The Sons of the Sires*, 31.

³⁰ Indianapolis *Journal*, Nov. 1, 1853.

³¹ Indianapolis *Journal*, Feb. 7, 1854. *The Sons of the Sires*, 32.

³² Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy*, 283.

³³ The organization of the order in the several states occurred in the following order, according to Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy*, 84. New York, April 4, 1852; New Jersey, April, 1853; Vermont, Maryland, May, 1853; Connecticut, July, 1853; Ohio, October, 1853; Massachusetts, November, 1853; Pennsylvania, December, 1853; District of Columbia, January, 1854; New Hampshire, Indiana, February, 1854; Rhode Island, Maine, March, 1854; Alabama, April, 1854; Georgia, Illinois, May, 1854; Michigan, June, 1854; Iowa, July, 1854; Kentucky, Wisconsin, North Carolina, August, 1854; Missouri, Louisiana, Oregon, September, 1854; South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Delaware, October, 1854; Mississippi, November, 1854; California, Texas, Fall 1854; Florida, Arkansas, December, 1854; Minnesota, May, 1855; New Mexico, Kansas and Nebraska in 1855. See also Madison *Courier*, Sept. 23, 1857; Indianapolis *Journal*, Aug. 22, 1853; Rushville *Republican*, May 17, 31, 1854; New Albany *Ledger*, June 7, 1854; Carrol, *Great American Battle*, 269-70.

³⁴ Carrol, *Great American Battle*, 270.

The following officers were elected:

James W. Barker, president, New York City; W. W. Williamson, vice-president, Alexandria, Va.; Charles D. Deshler, corresponding secretary, New Brunswick, N. J.; James M. Stephens, recording secretary, Baltimore, Md.; Henry Crane, treasurer, Cincinnati, Ohio; John P. Hilton, inside sentinel, Washington, D. C.; Henry Metz, outside sentinel, Detroit, Mich.; Samuel P. Crawford, chaplain, Indianapolis, Ind.³⁵

On June 17, the delegates completed the organization of the order by adopting a constitution and a new ritual.³⁶ Under their hands the Grand Council became a permanent body, holding jurisdiction wherever the order spread. After making arrangements for a second Grand Council to be held at Cincinnati, November 15, 1854, the convention adjourned.³⁷

The causes of the success of nativism were due to (1) the increase in the volume of immigration, and (2) the growth in power and influence of the Catholic church.

The increase in immigration, due to the potato famine in Ireland and the political unrest in Germany, presented a real problem to the United States. This is shown by the following table:³⁸

From 1790 to 1810 -----	120,000
From 1810 to 1820 -----	114,000
From 1820 to 1830 -----	103,979
From 1830 to 1840 -----	762,369
From 1840 to 1850 -----	1,521,850
Total for the entire 60 years -----	<u>2,722,198</u>

The following table shows the rapid increase during the first half of the decade 1850-1860:

From June 1, 1850 to Dec. 31, 1851-----	558,000
In the year 1852 -----	375,000
In the year 1853 -----	368,000
In the year 1854 (estimate) -----	<u>500,000</u>

Aggregate for four and one-half years ---- 1,801,000

³⁵ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 18, '54. Carroll, *Great American Battle*, 271.

³⁶ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 18, 1854. Carroll, *Great American Battle*, 271.

³⁷ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 18, 1854.

³⁸ *The Sons of the Sires*, 189. *The Crisis*, 15-23. Appendix to *Congressional Globe*, 33 Congress, 2 Session, 51.

The assimilation of such a mass of an element entirely different from the native stock threatened the homogeneousness of the people, which was considered essential to a permanent nationality.³⁹ The pauper and criminal element among the immigrants was believed to be large. The states of Europe were thought to make a regular practice of ridding themselves of their undesirables by paying their passage to America.

The commissioners of the poor in England recommend that Parliament pass an act authorizing the different parishes in England to raise money for the purpose of sending the most vicious and worthless of their parishes—such as are irreclaimable—out of that country to this!

Such is a passage quoted from *Niles Register*.⁴⁰ Such charges may or may not be true, but it is certain that they were made often and with great effect.⁴¹ It is also certain that the proportion of paupers and criminals among the foreign born was much larger than among the native born.⁴²

The immigrants remained a class apart, forming their own settlements and retaining their own habits and customs, many of which were repugnant to the Americans. The lax observance of the Sabbath customary on the continent shocked our people in a day when Puritanism was still a strong sentiment. The foreigners had their own political associations, societies, militia companies and clubs.⁴³ Their liberal views upon the liquor question won the enmity of the "Maine Law" men, for the temperance movement was then at its height. It was felt that the foreigners were the rumsellers, and were the most active in the opposition to the proposed reform.⁴⁴

³⁹ Whitney, *Defence of the American Policy*, 69.

⁴⁰ *The Crisis*, 24.

⁴¹ *The Sons of the Sires*, 68. Carrol, *Great American Battle*, 107. *The Crisis*, 24-34. *New Albany Tribune*, Feb. 15, 1855.

⁴² *The Crisis*, 28. Whitney, *Defence of the American Policy*, 180, 358.

⁴³ Whitney, *A Defence of the American Policy*, 175, gives the following as the articles in the platform of a German society in Richmond, Va. (summarized).

a. Abolition of all neutrality. Intervention in favor of every people struggling for liberty.

b. Reform in religion; abolition of laws for the observance of the Sabbath; of prayers in Congress, of oath upon the Bible.

c. The establishment of a German university and instruction in the German language.

See also, *Logansport Journal*, June 24, July 15, 1854. *The Crisis*, 50-55.

⁴⁴ *Brookville Indiana American*, June 16, 1854.

But it was the political activity of foreigners that gave the natives the 'greatest cause for alarm. The catering of politicians to secure their vote was notorious. Candidates for office were chosen for their availability to catch the foreign vote.

If he had an ear "for the sweetness of the German accent and the richness of the Irish brogue" he was put upon the course of the presidential race.⁴⁵

The naturalized citizens held the balance of power between the two old parties.⁴⁶ They cast over a quarter of a million votes in 1852, in an election in which a change of thirty-nine thousand votes would have elected Scott instead of Pierce.⁴⁷ Kossuth once said to some German-Americans:

You are strong enough to effect the election of that candidate for the presidency who gives the most attention to the European cause.⁴⁸

A large portion of the foreign vote was venal. The native born felt that an element foreign in origin, ignorant and irresponsible, and secret in its character, cast the deciding vote in the elections.⁴⁹

The Know Nothings tried to make it clear that they bore no enmity to foreigners as such and did not desire to deprive them of their rights.⁵⁰ Representative N. P. Banks of Massachusetts expressed this on the floor of the House:

I bear no enmity to foreigners * * * But if they hold as the supreme head of secular power the Pontiff of Rome, and consider that he can in any case absolve them from their allegiance * * * to the United States * * * if they understand that their interests are separate from those of American citizens, if they take direction from their spiritual guides in political matters, and by preconcerted and private arrangements, form associations, and make parties of their own, seeking to obtain and hold the balance of power, throwing their weight first into one scale and then into the other * * * they will force upon American citizens the alternative either to make similar combinations against them, or to abdicate the seats of political power.⁵¹

⁴⁵ *The Sons of the Sires*, 46.

⁴⁶ *Terre Haute Union*, Sept. 1, 1857.

⁴⁷ Appendix to *Congressional Globe*. 33 Congress, 2 Session, 52.

⁴⁸ Whitney, *Defence of the American Policy*, 338.

⁴⁹ *New York Times*, Dec. 6, 1854. *Logansport Journal*, March 16, 1856.

⁵⁰ *The Sons of the Sires*, 116. *Brookville Indiana American*, May 11, 1855.

⁵¹ Appendix to *Congressional Globe*, 33 Congress, 2 Session, 52.

The more conservative opponents of the Know Nothings recognized this fact.

Were foreigners to discard the dictation of self-appointed leaders among themselves, abandon their own national organizations, disregard all causes which bound them together or separated them from one another in the old country, we confidently believe that we should no longer hear of Know Nothing or Native American politics.⁵²

The second great cause of nativism was the fear engendered in the minds of Protestant Americans by the growth of the power and influence of the Catholic church. The growth of that church may be seen from the following table:⁵³

	1808	1855
Bishops -----	2	40
Archbishops -----	0	7
Priests -----	68	1,704
Missionary stations -----	0	678
Churches -----	80	1,824
Ecclesiastical institutions -----	2	37
Colleges -----	1	21
Female academies -----	2	117
Adherents -----	very few	2,500,000 (in 1851)
Papal provinces -----	0	7

The hierarchical system of the Catholic church with its infallible head roused the fears of the native Protestants for the safety of their free institutions. Romanism was believed to suppress intelligence, adjudicate by the inquisition, muzzle the press and forbid discussion, favor absolutism and pronounce liberty of conscience a wicked heresy.⁵⁴

There is not in the annals of mankind, any example of such perfect despotism, exercised not only over monks shut up in the cells of a convent, but over men dispersed among all the nations of the earth.⁵⁵

The increase of purely Catholic societies, schools, and colleges set them apart from other citizens. Of all their associations the Jesuits were the most feared. "When Jesuitical conjurers * * * follow * * * it behooves us to organize even secret societies."⁵⁶ The whole Roman system was

⁵² New Albany Ledger, June 21, 1854.

⁵³ Whitney, *Defence of the American Policy*, 116-17.

⁵⁴ Whitney, *Defence of the American Policy*, 95.

⁵⁵ "Sam", or the History of a Mystery, 533.

⁵⁶ Rushville Republican, May 17, 1854.

looked upon as a great conspiracy to ensnare Protestant America. The Roman schools were regarded as designed not so much to promote education as to make converts to popery.

The papal conspiracy is represented to be of a far more insidious character than has been surmised, * * * we fear the story is not without foundation.⁵⁷

The Roman church was believed to be an active political agent, still insisting on its mediaeval claims of temporal supremacy over every nation and people of the earth. Under the organization of the Jesuits the Catholic vote was presumed to be cast solidly for the candidate most favorable to them.⁵⁸ In 1852 both parties had bid for the foreign and Catholic vote. The question seemed to be, which of the two candidates and of the two parties was most favorable to the Catholics and foreigners.⁵⁹ A purely Catholic political ticket was not unknown. In 1841 a separate ticket was nominated by a mass meeting of Irish Catholics in New York city. The purpose of this "Carrol Hall" ticket was to rebuke the Democrats. The result showed that the balance of power lay in their hands.⁶⁰ Reflecting on the activity of the church and the attitude of the old parties, the native Protestants thought that the Roman church was striving directly to establish its temporal or political power in the United States.⁶¹

THE BEGINNING OF THE KNOW NOTHING MOVEMENT IN INDIANA AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1854

The secret work and ritual of the society which afterward came to be called the Know Nothings seem to have been brought to Indiana in the month of February, 1854, when the first lodge was organized at Lawrenceburg in Dearborn

⁵⁷ Rushville *Republican*, May 17, 1854.

⁵⁸ Appendix to *Congressional Globe*, 33 Congress, 2 Session, 52. *The Crisis*, 72-80.

⁵⁹ Indianapolis *Journal*, July 1, 10, 13, 1852; Brookville *Indiana American*, June 16, 1854; *The Sons of the Sires*, 46. Terre Haute *Union*, Sept. 1, Oct. 3, 1857.

⁶⁰ Carrol, *Great American Battle*, 263.

⁶¹ Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy*, 71.

county.¹ The organization spread rapidly, penetrating every part of the state, but all the while keeping its movements shrouded in the utmost secrecy. During March and April it reached the towns of southern Indiana, local organizations being formed at Versailles,² Madison and New Albany. By the end of spring its mysterious presence was felt in the towns of central and northern Indiana.

The details of the organization of the society cannot be told fully, for the traces it left were few. None of the organs of public opinion were openly used to advance its propaganda. From curious, enigmatical posters in Lafayette the uninitiated could surmise that the Know Nothings were abroad in their city.³ Diamond shaped pieces of paper scattered about on the streets of Madison and even pasted on the door of the *Courier* office were the only intimation that the society was at work there.⁴ The *Terre Haute Journal* said:

Is there a Know Nothing wigwam among us? No doubt exists that regular meetings of the society are held here from time to time. They are banded together in opposition to naturalized citizens, especially to those of the Catholic faith.⁵

Democratic editors were especially active in their attempts to expose the progress of the order. "We understand that a 'Wigwam'⁶ of the Know Nothings was established in town last night," said the *Rushville Jacksonian*. "It is a rehash of Native Americanism, gotten up on such a scale that Whig politicians can follow their instinct by joining without being exposed." The *Republican*, replying in a manner common to those editors favorable to the Know Nothings, accused the Democrat of being the real Know Nothing, saying:

¹ Whitney in *A Defence of the American Policy*, 284, makes the statement that the order was introduced into Indiana by the formation of a state council in Feb., 1854. This is undoubtedly a mistake as it is positively stated in Know Nothing sources that the state council of June 11-12, 1854, was the first. He probably had the date of the organization of the first lodge in mind. See the *Indianapolis Journal*, March 18, 1854, Aug. 9, 1860; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 31, 1856; *Brookville Indiana American*, Nov. 2, 1855.

² *Brookville Indiana American*, April 7, 1854.

³ *New Albany Tribune*, April 25, 1854.

⁴ *Madison Courier*, June 7, 1854.

⁵ *Madison Courier*, June 14, 1854.

⁶ The proper term is "council". The O. U. A. was organized into "wigwams" or "lodges" and in popular speech these terms were frequently applied to the Know Nothing councils.

We understand he went to Indianapolis for the purpose of joining, although we don't know anything about it, more than that his instincts would naturally lead him that way.⁷

The Evansville *Enquirer*, denouncing the Know Nothings bitterly, announced their appearance in that city in June. The New Albany *Tribune*, now becoming recognized as very favorable to Know Nothingism, retorted that such abuse would make the order rapidly increase.⁸ "Like an ill-omened bird of night," said the Logansport *Democratic Pharos*, giving an account of the organization of a branch there, "this society, afraid to meet the light of day, and honestly avow its purpose, holds its gatherings in secret."⁹

The Know Nothing question held a leading place of interest in the newspapers of the time. Editors favorable to the movement, although they invariably denied all connection with the organization, commented with obvious pleasure upon its vigorous and rapid progress. The "old line" Democratic editors, fearing the approach of this new secret political association that had already become such a powerful factor in the east, printed anything that tended to discredit the movement or to expose its proceedings.

The name of no man of prominence is connected with the extension of the order over the state. The work was accomplished by obscure men. Not many politicians were willing to identify themselves with such a movement while it was in its infancy, although they were willing enough to make use of it when its political strength began to be revealed. Judge William J. Peaslee, president of the council at Shelbyville, was actively engaged during the spring and summer of 1854 in organizing subordinate councils throughout central Indiana.¹⁰ Samuel Brown, of Boone county, was prominent as an organizer in his own district.¹¹

Quietly the Know Nothings worked their way throughout the state until they were numbered by thousands. By May, 1854, three months after their appearance, one of the national leaders, Lewis C. Levin, of Philadelphia, boasted that

⁷ Rushville *Republican*, May 3, 1854.

⁸ New Albany *Tribune*, June 20, 1854.

⁹ Logansport *Journal*, June 24, 1854.

¹⁰ Indianapolis *Chapman's Chanticleer*, Oct. 5, 1854.

¹¹ Lebanon *Boone County Pioneer*, Sept. 15, 1855.

thirty thousand names were on the rolls of Indiana "wigmams;" enough to constitute the deciding factor in future elections.¹² With a rapidity unequalled in our whole political history their progress continued until by July they could claim a membership of sixty thousand and were still daily increasing in numbers.¹³ They were proportionately strongest in the southern part of the state. In Dearborn county they claimed a majority; in the city of Madison alone the number was variously estimated at from five to twelve hundred.¹⁴ The old "Burnt District" (then the Fifth congressional) soon became a Know Nothing stronghold. At least three councils were located in Indianapolis. In the northern part of the state Know Nothingism never gained so firm a foothold, yet in the one county of LaPorte there were five subordinate councils.¹⁵

A brief survey of the political situation in Indiana in 1854 here becomes necessary. Parties were in a state of flux. The Whigs, as an organization, had practically ceased to exist after their disastrous campaign of 1852. They had largely drifted into the ranks of the Know Nothings. The Free Soil movement, at its height in 1848, had had its vote cut in half in 1852, but still obtained strong support in central and northern Indiana. The radical Abolitionists were a mere handful, but, because of their activity, they exercised an influence far out of proportion to their numbers. The "Maine Law" temperance men were an important factor in politics although the agitation was not at the high pitch of a few years previous.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which passed the House March 22, 1854, split the Democratic party. The major portion, the "Old Liners," remained true to their party affiliations and followed the lead of Pierce and the administration. A smaller fraction, whose antipathy toward the extension of slavery overcame the strength of their party ties, severed relations with the Old Liners and became known as Anti-Nebraska Democrats.

¹² Indianapolis *Sentinel*, May 27, 1854.

¹³ New Albany *Tribune*, July 17, 1854.

¹⁴ Madison *Courier*, June 14, 1854.

¹⁵ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Nov. 5, 1854.

This same situation existed throughout the north. These diverse elements of the opposition united for the campaign of 1854 in nearly all the northern states. This movement marks the birth of the Republican party, although in 1854 it received that name in but a few states. In other states fusion tickets known as People's or Anti-Nebraska, were formed, the various elements of the opposition uniting on the common ground of enmity to the further expansion of the slave power.

In Indiana as elsewhere there was a movement for a Fusion or People's party. The Know Nothings, perhaps the strongest of all the elements of the opposition but not strong enough to run a ticket of their own, determined to act with the Fusionists, to control the whole movement and to direct it in their own interests. In this they were merely following the usage of their brethren in the eastern states when the party was weak there. As a result their program was carried out with astonishing success, for during the entire canvass of 1854 the invisible machinery of Know Nothingism governed the Fusion movement—its nominations, its active organization and its campaign.¹⁶

A state convention was called for July 13, 1854, by the Fusionists to meet in Indianapolis, for the purpose of uniting on a common People's ticket. The Know Nothings, now that a sufficient number of councils had been organized to hold a state council, secretly decided to hold their state convention at the same place on July 11-12.¹⁷ Their next step was to secure control of the election of delegates to the Fusion convention. In this they succeeded. Probably three-fourths of the Fusion delegates chosen were Know Nothings.¹⁸ The men thus openly elected to the Fusion convention were then secretly nominated by the Know Nothing county councils to their own convention. Thus it happened that the members of the state council secured control of the People's convention.

The Know Nothings engaged the Masonic hall for July 11, 12 and 14.¹⁶ The windows were blinded and an attempt

¹⁶ Turpie, *Sketches of My Own Times*, 153; *Rockport Democrat*, July 28, 1855; *Indianapolis Journal*, July 24, 1855.

¹⁷ *Indianapolis Chapman's Chanticleer*, July 20, 1854.

¹⁸ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 27, 1854.

¹⁹ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 12, 1854.

was made to keep the proceedings secret, in which they were quite successful for the time being, although one of the younger editors of the *Sentinel*, Mr. Austin H. Brown, climbed upon a small building in the rear of the hall and succeeded in identifying several members before he was detected and dislodged from his position.²⁰

Among the well known delegates were Godlove S. Orth, Godlove O. Behm, and W. G. Terrel, of Lafayette, the latter the editor of the *Lafayette Journal*; Judge William J. Peaslee, of Shelbyville; Reuben A. Riley, of Greenfield (father of James Whitcomb Riley); Dr. James N. Ritchey, of Franklin; Milton Gregg, editor of the *New Albany Tribune*, and Rev. Lucien W. Berry, president of Asbury University. The exact number of delegates present is unknown but the hall was said to be crowded.²¹ A complete council would have consisted of one delegate from each county council. Judge Peaslee was president of the council.²² Many other prominent politicians connected with the Fusion movement found business in Indianapolis while the Know Nothings were in session but disclaimed any connection with them.

Seeing a crowd going into Masonic hall, thinking it was an anti-Nebraska meeting, went in too, and we were seen coming out, for the very good reason that we were not allowed to stay in; but if the very respectable men and good citizens we saw in the hall and left in it were Know Nothings, we have no objection to be called one.²³

Berry Sulgrove, editor of the *Indianapolis Journal*, was present at the convention and wrote blandly that it was only a caucus of anti-Nebraskaites, which was no doubt the truth but not the whole truth.²⁴

Details of the proceedings are lacking. The first session was held on the afternoon of July 11, at which time a state constitution was reported and adopted, along with a ritual and a set of rules and regulations.²⁵ As these documents are dis-

²⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 15, 1854, Aug. 9, 1860; *Brookville Indiana American*, July 21, 1854.

²¹ *Brookville Indiana American*, July 21, 1854.

²² *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 13, 1854.

²³ *Madison Courier*, July 19, 1854.

²⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 15, 1854; *New Albany Tribune*, Aug. 1, 1855.

²⁵ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 18, 1854.

cussed in the following chapter and are given in the appendix, they will not be dealt with here.

The council nominated a state ticket which the Know Nothings planned to have renominated by the convention of the 13th and appear as if brought out by the latter.²⁶

The officers elected for the ensuing year were:²⁷

President, Godlove S. Orth, Lafayette; vice-president, J. H. Cravens, New Marion, Ripley county; secretary, Rev. Samuel P. Crawford, Indianapolis; treasurer, E. H. Barry, Indianapolis; chaplain, Rev. James Havens, Rushville; mashall, Elias Thomasson, New Albany; sergeant-at-arms, John T. Wallace, Bowling Green.

On the 13th this board of officers drafted a set of orders.²⁸ This ended the work of the first Know Nothing state convention.

The People's convention met July 13. Many of the delegates to the secret conclave of the Know Nothings now took their seats in the People's convention. All the various elements of the opposition, the Anti-Nebraska Democrat, Whig, Free Soil, Abolition, Maine Law and Know Nothings, were represented. The Fusion papers however, refrained from mentioning the Know Nothings as forming a factor. They did not care to have that known. The convention organized by electing Thomas Smith, of Ripley county, a former Democrat, president, with a number of vice-presidents and secretaries which included men of all the factions.²⁹ A leading Know Nothing, Dr. James Ritchey, was one of the vice-presidents. A committee on resolutions was appointed, on which Judge Peaslee acted.

The one common object which had brought them together and which united them, namely the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, was expressed in a platform of resolutions; a more radical minority report of George W. Julian being voted down.³⁰

²⁶ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, July 27, 1854; Logansport *Journal*, Oct. 7, 1854; New Albany *Tribune*, Aug. 1, 1855.

²⁷ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Sept. 18, 1854.

²⁸ See appendix.

²⁹ Indianapolis *Journal*, July 15, 1854.

³⁰ Logansport *Journal*, July 22, 1854. For this slight Julian never ceased denouncing the Know Nothings.

The convention then proceeded to renominate the following ticket slated by the Know Nothing conclave, as though it was being brought out spontaneously.³¹ The party affiliations of each as given are taken from the *Sentinel*.³²

For secretary of state, Erasmus B. Collins, of Dearborn county. (Free Soil, Maine Law, Know Nothing.)

For auditor of state, Hiram E. Talbot, of Putnam county. (Maine Law, Know Nothing.)

For treasurer of state, William R. Nofsinger, of Parke county. (Free Soil, Maine Law.)

Judge of the supreme court, Samuel B. Gookins, of Vigo county (Whig, Free Soil, Maine Law.)

Superintendent of common schools, Prof. Caleb Mills, of Montgomery county. (Whig, Free Soil, Maine Law.)

Recommending this ticket to the people of the state, the convention adjourned, feeling that the work of uniting the many factions of the opposition was well under way.

This ticket and the method of its nomination did not please the more radical anti-slavery men, such as George W. Julian, but both the platform and ticket were suitable to the Know Nothings. Julian says of the convention:

The platform, however, was narrow and equivocal, and the ticket nominated had been agreed on the day before by the Know Nothings, in secret conclave, as the outside world afterward learned.³³

Also in his Raysville speech, July 4, 1857, he said:

The Know Nothings were pleased (in 1854) not only because they liked the platform but because the state ticket publicly nominated at the same time had been formed by the order in secret conclave the day before, as the outside world has since learned.³⁴

Julian denounced the Know Nothings in the bitterest invective, and did not want them in the People's party. In his *Recollections* he says:

Pretending to herald a new era in politics in which the people were to take the helm and expel demagogues and traders from the ship, it reduced political swindling to the certainty and system of a science.

³¹ New Albany *Tribune*, Aug. 1, 1855.

³² Indianapolis *Journal*, July 22, 1854.

³³ Julian, *Recollections*, 144.

³⁴ Julian, *Speeches*, 130.

It drew to itself, as the great festering center of corruption all the known rascalities of the previous generation, and assigned them to active duty in its service. It was an embodied lie of the first magnitude, a horrid conspiracy against decency, the rights of man, and the principle of human brotherhood.³⁵

He was also the principal exponent of the conspiracy theory, the belief of the abolitionists being that the whole Know Nothing movement was created by southern slave holders for the sole purpose of diverting popular interest from the anti-slavery agitation into a new and less dangerous channel.

Its birth, simultaneously with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was not an accident, as any one could see who had studied the tactics of the slave holders. It was a well-timed scheme to divide the peoples of the free States upon trifles and side issues, while the South remained a unit in defense of its great interest. It was the cunning attempt to balk and divert the indignation aroused by the repeal of the Missouri restriction, which else would spend its force upon the aggressions of slavery; for by thus kindling the Protestant jealousy of our people against the Pope, and enlisting them in a crusade against the foreigner, the South could all the more successfully push forward its schemes.

On this ground, as an anti-slavery man, I opposed it with all my might from the beginning to the end of its life.³⁶

To the believers in the conspiracy theory, the opposition of the Know Nothings to foreigners appeared as an attempt to discourage immigration to the north, and thus prevent the north from outstripping the south in population. They saw the invisible hand of the slave holding aristocracy of the south attempting to preserve the political equilibrium of the sections.³⁷

The more moderate anti-slavery men were alarmed at the rise of Know Nothingism, fearing that it would crush out the anti-slavery movement in the north.³⁸ Horace Greeley foresaw that while it would temporarily divert public opinion from the slavery question, it did not contain enough elements of permanence to be dangerous. As he said:

³⁵ Julian, *Recollections*, 140. It evidently failed in part of its duty with respect to demagogues.

³⁶ Julian, *Recollections*, 141.

³⁷ Ft. Wayne *Standard*, April 19, 1855.

³⁸ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Dec 9, 1854

It would seem devoid of the elements of persistence as an anti-cholera or an anti-potato-rot party would be.

The Maine Law temperance men also believed that Know Nothingism was inimical to their own movement.³⁹

To the views of the northern radicals it is interesting to oppose those of the southern Democrats. To the latter the movement in the north was Abolitionism in a very thin disguise. Representative O. R. Singleton, of Mississippi, said on the floor of the House:

They are all Free Soilers or Abolitionists * * * Show me a single resolution passed by them in a subordinate lodge, or in Grand Council, which repudiates Abolitionists, or Abolition sentiments, or expresses a willingness to acquiesce in the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act, or the fugitive slave law.⁴⁰

The "Old Line" press in the north also tried to stigmatise the movement as an abolition order, or at least controlled by an abolition majority.⁴¹

The true attitude of Know Nothingism toward slavery was not expressed correctly by any of the views given above. The order in its primitive character and purpose wished to ignore entirely the issue of free soil and slavery, which it considered to be sectional.⁴² Know Nothingism, on the other hand, they wished to make a national issue.

The American organization is not a local institution; it extends east, west, north and south, and an entire repudiation of everything like abolitionism was necessary to preserve its integrity and unity. This independent nomination (i. e. Ullman for governor of New York) therefore, is a guarantee to our southern friends that whatever the parties of the North may do, the patriotism of the masses knows no distinction between North and South.

Their theory was correct. As long as the slavery question was rapidly dividing the political parties, the churches and the Union itself into opposing camps, the Know Nothings could not commit themselves to one side or the other and remain national.

³⁹ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Dec. 9, 1854.

⁴⁰ Appendix to *Congressional Globe*, 33 Congress, 2 Session 267.

⁴¹ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Nov. 4, 1854.

⁴² Whitney, *Defence of the American Policy*, 298; Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Dec. 18, 1854; Appendix to *Congressional Globe*, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 1192.

But Know Nothingism in Indiana did not quite conform to this theoretical non-committal position. In the councils of central and northern Indiana, both the leaders and the rank and file were men with strong opinions on the slavery question. Only in the southern portion were the "national" Know Nothings in a majority. Thus in 1854 the state organization was controlled by men with free-soil views. Throughout its brief history the fortunes of the Know Nothing movement in Indiana were largely determined by its relations with the anti-slavery element.⁴³

The Democratic party held its state convention at Indianapolis, May 26, 1854. Already the strength of their new secret foe was known and feared. The following resolution, aimed at the Know Nothings, was introduced by Dr. B. F. Mullen, a Roman Catholic:

That the Democracy of Indiana, still adhering to the constitution of the Confederacy, openly and avowedly condemn any organization, secret or otherwise, that would aim to disrobe any citizen, native or adopted, of his political, civil, or religious liberty.⁴⁴

It passed without opposition. The *Journal* commented that though it did not fully understand the resolution it must be aimed at the Know Nothings, "a set of gentlemen of whom every person talks and about whom they 'Know Nothing'."⁴⁵

The Democrats made the campaign of 1854 chiefly against Know Nothingism. Governor Joseph A. Wright attacked it severely, claiming in a speech at Indianapolis that he had succeeded in breaking up sixty Know Nothing wigwams. Ex-Lieutenant-Governor Jesse Bright, Dr. Graham N. Fitch, of Logansport, and the other Democratic campaign orators handled the Know Nothings very vigorously.⁴⁶ They were called the "party with one idea," the "dark lantern party," "owls," "birds of night," "midnight conspirators" and such opprobrious terms.

Since the principles of the party were secret its opponents could attack only its secrecy and its manifest opposition

⁴³ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Nov. 1, 1854; Ft. Wayne *Standard*, Nov. 30, 1854.

⁴⁴ Madison *Courier*, June 7, 1854; New Albany *Ledger*, June 20, 1854; Indianapolis *Sentinel*, July 31, 1856; Brookville *Indiana American*, June 9, 1854.

⁴⁵ Indianapolis *Journal*, May 26, 1854.

⁴⁶ Indianapolis *Journal*. Oct. 14, 1854; Apr. 21, 1858; Oct. 21, 1854; Sept. 2, 1854.

to Catholics and foreigners. The secrecy of the movement threw it open to many charges. It was un-American and was preventive of a free and true expression of the voice of the people at the ballot box.⁴⁷ Secrecy gave an appearance of cowardice. Instead of the heretofore frank, open methods of American politics, an unjust, exclusive, anti-democratic means of gaining elections was adopted. The anti-Papal program was construed as mere bigotry and the anti-foreign creed was held to be unfair to the naturalized citizens.⁴⁸

The Whig party practically had ceased to exist by 1854. From its former ranks the greater part of the Know Nothing strength in Indiana was recruited.⁴⁹ The Free Soilers and Maine Law men constituted a considerable portion. Godlove S. Orth, Richard W. Thompson, William K. Edwards, Schuyler Colfax and Solomon Meredith were old Whigs. Besides there was a small percentage of Anti-Nebraska Democrats, of whom Will Cumback was the most conspicuous example, in the Know Nothing councils.⁵⁰ All the elements of the People's party were represented in the movement. Yet many anti-Nebraska men, such as Oliver P. Morton, were repelled by their secret measures, their opposition to the Catholic church and their desire to exclude foreigners from the suffrage.⁵¹

The tactics which the Know Nothings used to secure the nomination of their candidates by the People's convention of July 13 were pursued in district and local nominating con-

⁴⁷ A comparison of the presidential vote of 1852 with that of 1856 proves conclusively that the major portion of the Know Nothings in Indiana came from the ranks of the Whigs. Buchanan's strength, allowing for the increase in population in the four years, was practically the same as that of Pierce in 1852. The Fillmore and Fremont vote combined equalled approximately that cast for Scott in 1852. The result in the following counties is illustrative:

County	Pierce	Scott	Buchanan	Fremont	Fillmore
Clark -----	1812	1186	1950	492	1074
Floyd -----	1815	1328	1767	228	1262
Gibson -----	1127	942	1286	365	766
Lawrence -----	1113	1054	1126	430	660
Ohio -----	455	432	505	104	379
Orange -----	1022	747	1207	49	606
Switzerland -----	1147	1134	1121	228	1040

The Indianapolis *Journal*, Dec. 6, 1852, and Dec. 3, 1856; see also Indianapolis *Sentinel*, June 14, 1854, and Julian *Recollections*, 141.

⁴⁸ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, May 24, 1854.

⁴⁹ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Nov. 1, 1854; Indianapolis *Journal*, May 25, 1854.

⁵⁰ Rushville *Republican*, Aug. 30, 1854; Richmond *Jeffersonian*, Aug. 31, 1854.

⁵¹ Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I, 43, 44.

ventions throughout the state. The Democrats and other opponents charged the Know Nothings at the time with making use of these subtle means, and although the latter denied the facts at the time, they later confessed to the truth of the accusation.

The same invisible power was found at work in the nomination and election of congressmen in nearly every district in the State.⁵²

Mr. Cumback (in the Fourth district) was nominated by a Know Nothing convention in the first instance, and we know that Mr. Slaughter, the candidate against Mr. English in the Second district, was first nominated by a Know Nothing caucus.

We have no doubt every anti-Democratic candidate in the state, unless it be Mr. Dunn, was brought out in the same manner * * * Cumback, Holloway, Barbour, Scott, Mace, Colfax, Brenton and Pettit are all Know Nothings.⁵³

In the "Old Burnt District" a Fusion convention met at Cambridge City. The Know Nothings attempted to nominate Morton, but as he was not willing to connect himself with their organization, they secured the nomination of D. P. Holloway, editor of the *Palladium*.⁵⁴ Harvey D. Scott in the Seventh district was the nominee of a Know Nothing convention in Terre Haute, August 3, 1854.⁵⁵ Thomas C. Slaughter, of Corydon in the Second district was likewise chosen in secret conclave and confirmed by a People's convention.⁵⁶

A call was issued by William J. Peaslee, chairman of the Sixth district Fusion committee, for a convention to be held at Indianapolis, August 3, to nominate a candidate for congress. Messrs. J. P. Chapman, former editor of the *State Sentinel*; William Sullivan, and Lucien Barbour, were designated to procure a suitable place.⁵⁷ It is interesting to note that three of these men at least, Peaslee, Chapman, and Barbour, were prominent Know Nothings. Following their usual

⁵² New Albany *Tribune*, Aug. 1, 1855.

⁵³ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Jan. 21, 1856, Sept. 2, 1854.

⁵⁴ Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I, 42.

⁵⁵ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Oct. 6, 1854.

⁵⁶ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Sept. 2, 1854.

⁵⁷ Indianapolis *Journal*, July 22, 1854.

tactics the "dark lantern party" secured the nomination of Mr. Barbour. During the campaign Mr. Barbour and his opponent, Thomas A. Hendricks, made Know Nothingism the issue, the one appealing to that sentiment as strongly as the other opposed it.⁵⁸

The same methods were followed in the counties. In Marion county a ticket prepared by a secret Know Nothing meeting on September 16, was ratified to a man by the Fusionists on September 20. Every man on the ticket was claimed to be a member of the order.⁵⁹ The council of Wayne county fixed up a ticket on September 16 that was introduced and nominated, with two exceptions, by the People's convention at Centreville, one week afterwards.⁶⁰ The same thing happened in Floyd county.⁶¹ In Dearborn county the People's convention nominated a ticket that had been selected by a secret council of Know Nothings, even though in the meantime the Lawrenceburg *Register* had secured possession of and published the names.⁶²

An insight into the political workings of the Know Nothing lodges at this time is afforded by the minutes of the Milton lodge, Wayne county, which came into the possession of the Richmond *Jeffersonian* and were made public.⁶³ An entry dated September 8, 1854, records that a committee of three from each ward was appointed "to attend to forming a ticket for corporation officers." On September 15th it is stated that said committee "reported the following ticket," etc. On the same date occurs a most important entry which confirms the dictation to the People's party by the Know Nothings in Wayne county referred to above:

On motion the Council went into the election of delegates to the County Council, which resulted in the election of the following persons: Henry Voglesong, E. Roberts, James L. Allen, and H. B. Sinks; County Council to be held at Richmond on the 16th of September.

On motion of Dr. Kersey, the delegates be instructed to use their best efforts to promote the permanent interests of the organization.

⁵⁸ Holcomb and Skinner, *Life of Hendricks*, 163-164.

⁵⁹ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Sept. 21, 1854.

⁶⁰ Richmond *Jeffersonian*, June 21, 1855.

⁶¹ New Albany *Ledger*, Aug. 30, 1854; Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Sept. 2, 1854.

⁶² Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Oct. 7, 1854.

⁶³ Richmond *Jeffersonian*, July 5, 1855.

The next entry, dated September 18th, reads:

Council was called by the president, for the purpose of letting the committee report the proceedings of the County Council which was held on the 16th instant. They report the Council met, and appointed the following officers: J. B. Dinsmore, president; Nim. H. Johnson, vice-president, and that the greatest harmony prevailed. They then went into the selection of a ticket for state and county officers which resulted in the following: (Here follows what was called the "People's Ticket" with two exceptions). Which report was unanimously adopted, and the members agreed to support the ticket nominated by the People's Convention on the 23d inst.

Such was the procedure. First delegates were appointed to the council at Richmond—a county council, hence similar proceedings must have been transpiring in the subordinate councils all over the county. Next a special meeting was called to hear the report of these delegates, which embodied as the result of the main action of the county council the precise ticket, with slight exceptions, introduced as original at the so-called People's convention one week afterwards. Finally the Milton council agreed to support the ticket nominated by the People's convention of the 23d inst. five days before such convention had any existence.

In the light of such testimony there can be no question of the activity of the Know Nothing machinery. Moreover such proceedings were not peculiar to Indiana. It was the method of control planned by the founders of the order and had been practiced elsewhere with great success.

While there was no authorized publication of the Know Nothing platform the main principles were beginning to be pretty well known. The following platform is given by an organ of the Fusion party that was more than favorable to Know Nothing principles:

1. Repeal of all naturalization laws.
2. None but native Americans in office.
3. A pure American common school system.
4. War to the hilt on Romanism.
5. Opposition, first and last, to the formation of military companies composed of foreigners.
6. The advocacy of a sound, healthy and safe nationality.
7. Hostility to all Papal influence, in whatever form, and under whatever name.
8. American institutions and American sentiments.

9. More stringent and effective emigration laws.
10. The amplest protection to Protestant interests.
11. The doctrines of the revered Washington and his compatriots.
12. The sending back of all foreign paupers landed on our shores.
13. The formation of societies to protect all American interests.
14. Eternal enmity to all who attempt to carry out principles of a foreign church or state.
15. Our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country.
16. And finally, American laws and American legislation, and death to all foreign influence, whether in high places or low.⁶⁴

Briefly, Know Nothingism professed to oppose and annul the influence of the Roman Catholic church over the institutions and affairs of our country and to break up the subserviency of American politics and politicians to foreign influence. Its advocates asserted that they

desired to return to the pure Americanism of the Republican Fathers, and the administration of national affairs upon principles as understood by them.⁶⁵

After the constitution of the grand council became known in the fall of 1854 the object became definitely known,

The object of this organization shall be to resist the insidious policy of the church of Rome and other foreign influence against the institutions of our country by placing in all offices in the gift of the people, or by appointment, none but native born Protestant citizens.⁶⁶

The Know Nothings claimed to bear no enmity to foreigners as such, but only to their misuse of the privileges given them here. This position is well stated in a communication signed "Know Nothing" in the *Journal*.

We wage no war on the elective franchise of the foreigner. We oppose or denounce no man's religion. We interfere with the right of no man, native or foreigner, to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

But we do oppose, and we will battle till we destroy, that accursed party practice, which lays the institutions of our country at the feet of the ignorant, the debauched, and the un-Americanized subject of any and every European king. We do not think that a mere voyage across the Atlantic * * * qualifies a man to hold our offices, or make our

⁶⁴ Brookville *Indiana American*, May 26, 1854; Indianapolis *Journal*, July 8, Sept. 2, 1854.

⁶⁵ Logansport *Journal*, March 15, 1856.

⁶⁶ See appendix. Constitution of the Grand Council, Art. 3, Sec. 1. Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Sept. 18, 1854.

laws or even to control us in doing either. We want men to know our country, and its Constitution, to have some stake, some home, some abiding place in it, and we have determined * * * it shall be done.⁶⁷

In Indiana the Nebraska question clouded the Know Nothing issue. The congressional campaign was fought out principally on this question. The party in the state as a whole was heartily opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska bill although there were exceptions.⁶⁸ The temperance question aided in complicating the congressional campaign. Will Cumback in a speech at Manchester, Dearborn county, frankly declared he did not want the vote of any foreigner, of any man who favored the Nebraska iniquity, or who was opposed to the search, seizure, confiscation, and destruction of all intoxicating drinks.⁶⁹

Mention has been made of the curiosity aroused by the mystery of the secret order and the attempt to spy on the Indianapolis convention. The attempts to discover and expose them have no parallel in the history of our secret societies. Consequently the Know Nothings had to take the utmost care to preserve the secrecy of their meetings. The signal for a meeting was given by scattering bits of paper cut or colored in such a manner as to designate the place and time.⁷⁰ They met usually in some secluded place, well guarded. In Bloomington while the council was weak, they met in the midst of a field where there was a tall growth of fennel. One lodge near Crawfordsville had its headquarters in a deserted house in the woods.⁷¹ A lodge near Georgetown, bothered by espionage, met at night in a cornfield. Finding themselves surrounded by eavesdroppers one night, at a given signal they suddenly put out the lights and charged their unwelcome visitors who fled and troubled them no more.⁷²

A series of exposes⁷³ was the result of this espionage upon

⁶⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 21, 1854; see also *New Albany Ledger*, June 21, 1854; *Logansport Journal*, June 24, 1854.

⁶⁸ *Indianapolis Indiana Republican*, Aug. 9, 1855; *Madison Courier*, Sept. 6, 1854.

⁶⁹ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Aug. 29, 1854.

⁷⁰ *Madison Courier*, June 7, 1854; *Indianapolis Journal*, Mar. 18, 1854, April 5, 1855; *New Albany Ledger*, Apr. 4, 1855.

⁷¹ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 4, 1855.

⁷² *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 2, 1854.

⁷³ *Brookville Indiana American*, Apr. 7, 1854, Sept. 22, 1854; *Indianapolis Journal*, May 30, 1854; *Indianapolis Chapman's Chanticleer*, Oct. 5, 1854.

"Sam" or the "Cayennes" as the Know Nothings were popularly nicknamed. Most of them were false, consisting of conjecture and popular report. Finally authentic copies of the constitutions of the grand, state, and subordinate councils, and the ritual were secured from a drunken friend of "Sam" and the whole was published in the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, September 18, 1854.

It was natural that a bitter enmity should be aroused between the Know Nothings and the lower class of foreigners and Catholics in the country. Unscrupulous politicians courting the support of that vote told the foreigners that the Know Nothings wished to disfranchise all foreigners and either kill or drive them out of the country. Taking this literally many Germans and Irish went armed. There is at least one instance in Franklin county where several Germans attended a funeral armed with Bowie knives to defend themselves against the murderous Know Nothings⁷⁴ At this time there were great construction camps of Irish laborers along the railroads then being built. It was not at all safe for a man of native American opinions to go near them, for they held a bitter hatred against the Know Nothings. To intimate that any one was a Know Nothing was sufficient to set the Irish on them in all their fury. Riots and assaults on individuals were common.⁷⁵ The Germans of Franklin county prepared to go armed to the polls on election day.⁷⁶

By the end of September, 1854, the Know Nothings claimed to number eighty-seven thousand in the state.⁷⁷ There is no way of verifying the claim but it cannot be greatly exaggerated. There were councils in practically every town and community in the state, possibly as many as five hundred.⁷⁸ The strength of the individual councils ranged from a few members up to several hundred. The strength of the one in such a small place as Milton, Wayne county, rapidly increased from the original nine to one hundred thirty. Because of their close organization they were even more powerful than their numbers warranted. The balance of political power was in

⁷⁴ Brookville *Indiana American*, Sept. 29, 1854.

⁷⁵ Stormont, *History of Gibson County*, 97.

⁷⁶ Brookville *Indiana American*, Sept. 29, 1854.

⁷⁷ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Sept. 26, 1854.

⁷⁸ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Nov. 5, 1854.

The Democratic papers universally charged the "dark lantern party" with their defeat. As the *Sentinel* put it. "It is a Know Nothing triumph."⁹⁰

By the end of 1854 the Know Nothings had made their entry into every state of the union. In Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., St. Louis, Chicago, and the cities of Massachusetts, Ohio, and Virginia the Know Nothings won notable victories.⁹¹ In Nashville,⁹² Tennessee, and Bridgeport,⁹³ Connecticut, they elected mayors who were not even known to be in the running until after the votes were counted. In some of the old Whig strongholds of Massachusetts it was not known that a new ticket was out until the very day of the election. Their triumphs were as unexpected as they were complete.⁹⁴

The Fusionists of the state held a grand outdoor meeting, November 1, at Indianapolis in honor of their recent success. To the Old Liners it appeared as nothing but an open air meeting of the "dark lantern" party. Certain it is, that in the speeches native American sentiment was expressed as freely as anti-Nebraska. Oliver P. Morton, the mildest of all, said:

The provision of our state constitution allowing the right of suffrage to aliens is not only inexpedient but unconstitutional.⁹⁵

At a Fusion supper, the following toast was given:

The safest repository of American interests is the hearts of the American people. And the surest mode of governing America is to place her government in American hands—without the aid of foreign influence.⁹⁶

The Know Nothing state council took advantage of this gratification to hold a meeting of their own.⁹⁷ In this they followed their usual custom—whenever the People's party met, "Sam's" inner circle of friends had their own little council. The proceedings were kept secret, but it became known

⁹⁰ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Oct. 14, 1854.

⁹¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 31, June 13, Aug. 12, Oct. 14, 1854.

⁹² *Ibid.* Oct. 7, 1854.

⁹³ *New Albany Tribune*, Apr. 25, 1854.

⁹⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 31, 1854.

⁹⁵ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Nov. 7, 1854, July 31, 1856.

⁹⁶ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 31, 1856.

⁹⁷ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Nov. 3, 1854; *Indianapolis Chapman's Chanticleer*, Nov. 9, 1854.

that, after a struggle between two opposing factions, it was agreed to support Godlove S. Orth for United States senator. Also Milton Gregg, editor of the *New Albany Tribune* and a former Old Line Whig, who was now the most active advocate of nativist principles in southern Indiana, was made the nominee for the post of state printer.⁹⁸

The second national convention of the "Order of the Star Spangled Banner" met in secret session in Cincinnati, November 15, 1854. For the first time, delegates were present from all the states of the Union. The attendance was large, but there were few public men present. Among the delegates were: Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina; John M. Clayton, of Delaware; Daniel Ullman, of New York; Jacob Broom, the leader of the former Native American party in Philadelphia; Mayor Conrad, of Philadelphia; and Sam Houston, of Texas.⁹⁹ The names of the Indiana delegates have not been learned but Rev. Samuel P. Crawford, of Indianapolis, who at this time held the office of chaplain, may have served,¹⁰⁰ and John W. Dawson, editor of the *Fort Wayne Times*, afterward acknowledged that he himself was elected as one of the delegates of this state.¹⁰¹

The business of the session was the revision of the secret ritual, but at the same time the political question was a welcome intruder.¹⁰² At this time when the old parties seemed in a process of dissolution, the Know Nothing movement was thought to be in a position to control the coming election. Several presidential possibilities, including Sam Houston, of Texas; Millard Fillmore, of New York; John M. Clayton, of Delaware; Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina; Garrett Davis, of Kentucky; Jacob Broom, of Pennsylvania; and Daniel Ullman, of New York; most of whom were present, were considered as available candidates.¹⁰³ But the purpose was neither to make nominations nor adopt a platform.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Nov. 5, 24, 1854.

⁹⁹ *Terre Haute Wabash Courier*, Dec. 2, 1854; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Dec. 8, 1854.

¹⁰⁰ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 18, 1854.

¹⁰¹ *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, Sept. 22, 1858.

¹⁰² Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York*, 134.

¹⁰³ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Dec. 8, 1854.

¹⁰⁴ *Indianapolis Indiana Republican*, Dec. 7, 1854.

Aside from the revision of the ritual,¹⁰⁵ and the oaths of the old degrees, the most notable news that came to the knowledge of the outside world was the adoption of the new third or "Union" degree. This degree was proposed by Kenneth Rayner, who, although a slaveholder and a believer in Southern rights, was intensely national in his sympathies. Unfolding his plan before the convention, it was received with great enthusiasm, and when a committee, of which he was chairman, reported the new degree with its oath, it was adopted by a nearly unanimous vote. The degree was conferred by Mr. Rayner on all the delegates present. It bound each member under solemn pledges to adhere to, defend, and maintain the union of the states against all assaults from every quarter without any limitations whatsoever. The recipients of this degree were welcomed into the brotherhood of the "Order of the American Union." Within six months a million and a half of men had taken the degree.¹⁰⁶

Such was the origin of the famous Union degree. After the adjournment of the convention, November 25, and the news of its work became known, a bitter protest came from the anti-slavery men. They felt that they had been sacrificed in order to gratify the demands of the pro-slavery wing.¹⁰⁷ In form the new oath merely affected to condemn any and all attempts to disrupt the nation, a sentiment to which no American could object. But in fact it gave the conservative and pro-slavery element a means of suppressing the anti-slavery agitation by using the discipline of the order against its advocates.¹⁰⁸ The immediate result in the north was the disbandment of many councils, and the withdrawal of many members of anti-slavery sentiments.¹⁰⁹ Yet there can be no doubt that the motive of the men originating the degree was pure, and there is no ground to support the "conspiracy" theory of the northern radicals, who held that the third degree was a virtual pro-slavery obligation.¹¹⁰ This move to

¹⁰⁵ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 18, 1854.

¹⁰⁶ Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, II, 420-22.

¹⁰⁷ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Dec. 8, 1854.

¹⁰⁸ Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York*, 135.

¹⁰⁹ *Richmond Jeffersonian*, April 19, 1855; *Brookville Indiana American*, Sept. 26, 1856.

¹¹⁰ Julian, *Recollections*, 144.

gain the political support of the south marks the beginning of the disruption of the Know Nothing Party.

It is probable that a state council met in Indianapolis November 20, to receive the new ritual from Cincinnati, but the evidence is meager and no details were given out.¹¹¹

The year 1854 thus saw the entry of the Know Nothings in Indiana. The startling rapidity with which it spread, the secrecy which enveloped its action, and the phenomenal success that it achieved, made it the most powerful political organization of its day. But already it had reached its zenith. Coinciding with its period of expansion, those disruptive factors appeared which were soon to wreck and ruin it. The intrusion of the slavery issue and the contest with sectionalism will be the subject of a further chapter.

¹¹¹ The following note appeared in the Indianapolis *Sentinel* November 21, 1854: "Mr. Editor—The Know Nothings assembled in this city today from all parts of the State. At the meeting of the National Council held in Cincinnati a new ritual and formulae of the order was received by the State delegates. These documents will be distributed today.

Monday, Nov. 20.

(Signed) SAM.

This is a fair sample of the evidence upon which much of our knowledge of the Know Nothing movement rests, but as most of the *Sentinel's* Know Nothing news later proved to be true, this may be taken as fairly reliable.

(To be continued.)

Jesse Kimball—Pioneer

By GEORGE WILLIAM BEATTIE and HELEN PRUITT BEATTIE

THE KIMBALL FAMILY

According to the Morrison and Sharples *History of the Kimball Family*,¹ the first Kimballs to come to America sailed from Ipswich, England, in the ship "Elizabeth" April 10, 1634. Their home in England had been in Rattlesden, Suffolk county, where they belonged to a middle class and not very numerous family. The name there was spelled in various ways such as Kemball, Kemble, Kimbal, Kimbel or even Kymbold. The claim is made that the last mentioned form was the original one.

There were two men from this family on the "Elizabeth"—Henry Kemball and Richard Kimball. They may or may not have been brothers. There is nothing to suggest that they were related in any way beyond the similarity of their names and the fact that they came to America on the same vessel. Henry Kemball has but few descendants, but Richard has many. Most of the Kimballs in America are in his line. He had eleven children and they all married and left issue but one, and even that one may have married, although no record to such effect has ever been found.

Richard was a wheelwright, and settled first in Watertown, Massachusetts, moving later to Ipswich, where he spent the remainder of his life, dying June 22, 1675. He was prominent and respected in Ipswich. Indeed, he moved there at the invitation of the people of the community, who were in need of a competent man to act as wheelwright. The town granted him a house lot, forty acres of land and liberty to "pasture two cows free."

The Kimball family has always been distinguished for general shrewdness and practical ability rather than for purely intellectual leadership. Few of the name have ever been noted politically, professionally or in letters. Kimbals have figured largely as capable and reliable men and women in the

¹ Leonard A. Morrison and Stephen P. Sharples *History of the Kimball Family*.



JESSE KIMBALL.

common walks of life; and, beginning with Richard and his sons, have frequently been placed in positions of trust in the town and church governments of the places in which they lived. They have always been strongly represented in business, and there they are uniformly successful. Until recently, not many of them were rich, although generally they were in comfortable circumstances. Now many of the name are wealthy.

Although clearly a peace-loving people, the Kimballs have always shown themselves to be public-spirited and patriotic, and willing to fight when necessary. The name Kimball is found often in the Revolutionary war rolls; and in the War of 1812 and in the Civil war, Kimballs again played their part. In the latter war, some of the name gained prominence.

Several of the Kimballs in England have distinguished themselves in military service. General Sir Arnold Burrowes Kimball, for long services in the east, was made Knight Commander of the Star of India in 1860, and Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath in 1878.

ANCESTRY OF JESSE KIMBALL

While working on the life history of Jesse Kimball, pioneer settler in New York, Kentucky and Indiana, it has been brought strongly to mind that a man rarely goes through life without leaving a trail by which he may be traced. Oftentimes the trail is obscure and all but lost, but it exists, nevertheless. Old letters, deeds to property, wills, mortgages, records of lawsuits, and all such papers—to say nothing of family bibles and family traditions aid the persistent searcher, frequently in a surprising manner.

In the case of Jesse Kimball the lack of authoritative information concerning his life activities constituted a great handicap at the outset. Two very important sources of information, however, became available early in the search—his family bible² and his pension application. In each of these he stated that he was born on March 19, 1760, in Preston, Connecticut. Unfortunately, no mention of his birth can be found in the Preston town records.

² Jesse Kimball's bible is now owned by Miss Myrtle Knowles of Petersburg, Ind., who kindly sent the writers a copy of the family record it contains.

Only recently, some old letters in the possession of a member of the Kimball family, furnished long sought information concerning the parents of Jesse Kimball. The letters, written during the years 1883-1888, for the express purpose of supplying genealogical data, were from the son of Jesse's brother, Isaac;³ and they make it clear that Jesse's father

³ The Isaac Kimball letters in possession of Maj. George W. Kimball, Mt. Vernon, Posey county, Ind.

Cincinnati, May 23, 1883.

Mr. Samuel Morrison:

My Parents to the best of my knowledge were natives of Conn.—my mother raised in Hartford where my father & mother were married.

They went west to New York by way of Long Island Sound, passing Hell gate (as it was then called) and settled in the interior of the state on the Catskills.

My father was too young to be in the Revolutionary war, but his two older brothers & his father were. At the close of the war one of them received a portion of land in Henderson Co. Kentucky—moved to it & that brought my father out to the new country. We came out in the year 1810 landed at Lawrenceburgh, where we stayed for 7 years.

I cannot tell the year, but it was after the earthquakes (the earthquakes were in 1811-12) that shook from New Madrid to Cin'ti, that my mother fell from a loft and lighting back foremost on a churn, the dasher handle entered near the spine past entirely through her body. I was in the room at the time and saw my older Brother Charles pull the dasher out of her body. Strange as it may seem she got well & lived 20 years after. I am now in my 82nd year & have but one brother living. My oldest brother died 64 years ago & left but one son, Charles Jackson Kimball living in Green Castle 41 miles beyond Indianapolis.

Yours,

ISAAC KIMBALL.

CHARLES J. KIMBALL, Greencastle, Ind.,

Fb. 12th, 1886.

Dear Nephew—34 years ago I first peeped out from the top of Catskill mountain on this beautiful world covered 4 ft. deep with snow. We moved to Onterio Co. when I was three years old, & from there to Indiana when I was 8 years old & to the lower part of that state when I was 15 years old. After staying there two years, when 17 years old I started on foot for Cincinnati, which I made in one week, wading some & swimming some streams; no railroads then. I Have ever been glad of this movement. I had at that time but little or no knowledge of the christian religion but I had a desire to get into better associations than I found at Cynthianna, (Indiana).

ISAAC KIMBALL.

CHARLES J. KIMBALL, Greencastle, Ind.:

Cin'ti. Feb. 14th, 1888.

My dear nephew—You wish me to write what I know about our ancestry. Well, my grand father John Kimball was the great, great, great grandson of Adam. the first, the intermediates I do not recollect, because I never collected them. My Grandfather married a woman by the name of Sandos, or Sandors,—She was some 3 years older than he & died about that long before him, which events both occurred at your grandfather Jesse's, (where also your own father was buried). My father was the youngest of 3 sons, & my Aunt Mary the youngest of 13 sisters, 16 in all, the boys names were Samuel, Jesse & Isaac, the girls names were Thankful, Prudence, Olive, Mary and the rest of their names I do not know. My mother's name was Sarah Warner. I have no knowledge of my mother's relations but I see a good many of that name from the eastern states where she was born. My grandfather and his 2 older sons served

was named John Kimball. This information, accompanied as it was by the names of Jesse's brothers and some of his sisters, made it possible to establish the connection between his family and the other branches of the Kimball family in New England.

Upon following in the Kimball history the line through which Jesse seems to have descended, we find that among the sons of the immigrant Richard (1), was one named John (2). He was born in Rattlesden, England, in 1631, and came to America with his parents. He spent his life in Ipswich, Massachusetts, and died there May 6, 1698. By trade he was a wheelwright, as his father, Richard, had been, but by occupation he seems to have been an extensive farmer also. He frequently bought and sold land, and there are a large number of deeds on record at Salem, Massachusetts, bearing his name. He married Mary Bradstreet, whose parents had come over in the ship "Elizabeth" when the Kimballs came. He had thirteen children. His ninth child was named John (3).

This John (3) was born March 16, 1668, in Ipswich. He became a wheelwright and a farmer, and married Sarah Goodhue. He bought two hundred acres of land in Preston, Connecticut, and moved there in 1727. He had nine children. Of these Isaac (4) was the sixth.

Isaac (4) was born April 19, 1705. He married Prudence Parke and lived much of his life in Preston, where he received from his father, John Kimball (3), October 11, 1736, on account of "love and good will," eighty acres of land in that town. Isaac (4) made his will March 20, 1744, and left half his property to his wife, Prudence, and the other half to his sons, John (5), Isaac (5) and Jesse (5), they to have the whole on the death of his wife. The Jesse (5) here mentioned was Captain Jesse of Canaan, Connecticut, whose Revolutionary war service and subsequent career is known. John (5)⁴ is assumed to be the father of Jesse (6), who is the subject of this sketch.

in the Revolutionary war, my own father being too young. Your grandfather's bounty land fell to him in Henderson Co. Kentucky & that is what brought so many of the Kimball family out to the western country. A man by the name of Morrisson wrote to me from Indianapolis to send to him an account of my mother's accident & recovery—the letter misscared & was sent back to me, & I can do no better than to enclose it to you. * * *

ISAAC KIMBALL.

⁴ From Vital Records, Preston, Connecticut, Vol. I, Page 91.

THE INDIANA BRANCH OF THE KIMBALL FAMILY

John (5) was born December 12, 1731. He married Ruhama Sanders, of Lyme, Connecticut, September 21, 1752, and had a family consisting of three sons and, it is said, thirteen daughters. The sons were Samuel (6), Jesse (6) and Isaac (6). Of the daughters, Thankful (6), Prudence (6), Olive (6), Azuba (6), Silvia (6), Amy (6), Margaret (6), and Mary (6) are known by name. Jesse (6) seems to have been the second son. We know that Isaac (6) was the youngest, and it is probable that Samuel (6) was the oldest.

John Kimball (5) was a soldier in the Revolution. His son, Samuel (6), also saw Revolutionary service, in the Connecticut line. The war records of the various Samuel Kimballs who served in Connecticut organizations have been carefully studied but none of them can be identified positively as applying to Jesse's brother. It is possible that the rolls containing the name of this particular Samuel were among the many that suffered destruction during and after the Revolution. Nothing is known to us of Samuel's later career.

Isaac (6),⁵ the younger brother, was not old enough to enter the Revolution. He married Sarah Warner, in Hart-

⁵ Posey County, Indiana, Probate Court Records.

Book 1815-1827, P. 121.

Springfield (old county seat of Posey), May 11, 1818.

Isaac Kimball filed his bond for \$500 with Lewis Williams & Saml C. Hirons his security for the faithful discharge of his duties as Admr. on the Estate of Jesse Kimball Jr. deceased which bond was approved and at the same time filed his inventory of appraisement amounting to \$576.39½. Also the sale bill amounting to \$529.93.

Probate Order Book I, 136.

On motion ordered that Jesse Kimball be appointed Guardeen for John Kimball and Charles J. Kimball sons of Jesse W. Kimball Deceased John aged about 6 year and Charles J. about Three years.

Probate Order Book C & D 1828-1834. May 21, 1832.

Charles J. Kimball, sixteen years old on the 7th day of Aug. 1831, minor and son of Jesse W. Kimball late of Posey Co. Decd appeared in open court and chose Jesse Kimball for his Guardian. Bond fixed \$600. David Knight and Elisha Kimball securities appointed and sworn.

Page 281. February 12, 1833.

Isaac Kimball, Admr.

vs.

Jesse Kimball, Guard.

Whereas at the August Term 1832 this cause came on for trial, and upon inspection etc.—it was ordered that said Isaac Kimball Admr. be allowed & credited by said Jesse Kimball with the sum of \$92.90 as paid on Jan. 22, 1819, and that said Isaac Kimball recover of said Jesse Kimball his costs by him expended and said decree having been neglected to be signed, etc. or minuted

ford, and moved to New York State, living first in the Catskills and later in Ontario county in the Western part of the state. He then moved to Indiana, settling at Lawrenceburg, and living there from 1810-1817. From Lawrenceburg he went to Posey county; and, so far as is known, he spent the remainder of his life there. He was appointed administrator of the estate of his son, Jesse W. Kimball (7), and the records of the Posey county courts mention him in this capacity as early as May 11, 1818, and as late as February 12, 1833. His career in Southern Indiana has never been fully worked out. He had four sons, Jesse W (7), Charles (7), James (7), and Isaac (7). Of these, the first named married his cousin, Sarah Kimball (7), daughter of his uncle Jesse (6).

REVOLUTIONARY WAR SERVICE OF JESSE KIMBALL

In his pension application, which is dated August 20, 1847, Jesse mentions his brother, Samuel, in connection with his own Revolutionary service. The following is a quotation from the application:

I was a substitute for Samuel Kimball, who enlisted in the State of Connecticut in the Service of the United States in the Revolutionary War, for the term, I think, of three years or somewhere about that time. And about three months before his time was out, he was taken with the measles and came home and I went and served in his place. My captain's name was Captain Chapley and I do not recollect my lieutenant's name, and I can recollect no other officers. We were stationed during the whole time till I was discharged in the garrison of New London in the State of Connecticut. I cannot recollect the time I served or the date of my discharge, but I think the time of my service was about three months or not less than three. If I remember right, I was discharged when my brother's time was out. I received my discharge from Captain Chapley in the New London garrison, Connecticut. My discharge and all

down on the records of this court it is ordered that said decree be entered now, etc.

From family Bible of Jesse Kimball.

Grandchildren

John Kimball was borned Feb. 25—1813

Charles J. Kimball was borned Aug. 8—1815

* From Vincennes Marriage Records, 1807-1832.

This is to certify that I, James Martin, joined together as husband and wife on the 25th of November, 1811, Jesse Kimball and Sally Kimball, being published as the Law directs.

JAMES MARTIN

Rec'd Aug. 23rd, 1812.

the papers were burned in the State of New York where I lived on a place called Bomen's Creek where I had my house burned down. I lived in Connecticut sixteen or eighteen years. I then moved to New York to the place called Bomen's Creek.

In an amendment to his pension declaration, Jesse stated:

That by reason of old age and consequent loss of memory, he can not recollect the precise time he served; but to the best of his knowledge, it was three months. And he recollects that he got his discharge maybe one months or shortly before the town of New London was burned, but he cannot recollect the day and dates.

His uncertainty concerning dates is only too evident. His statements regarding time are seldom more than approximations. It must be borne in mind, though, that when he made his pension declaration, he was about eighty-seven years of age, and the loss of memory of which he complains, was entirely natural.

There are valid reasons for questioning the correctness of the date of his own birth. For instance, he states in his declaration that he lived in Connecticut sixteen or eighteen years before going to New York. If his Revolutionary service terminated, as he says, shortly before the burning of new London—which occurred in September, 1781—he would then have been past twenty-one years of age, providing he was born in 1760, as he says. Furthermore, among the children of John Kimball named in the records of the town of Preston,⁷ is a daughter, Sylvia, who was born November 15, 1759; and it is clear that if she is Jesse's sister, either her birthday or Jesse's is incorrectly stated. Town records are generally accepted as final authority in such cases, while an error regarding the date of his birth might easily have found lodgment in Jesse's mind. He may have been born later than 1760, and there is ground for suspecting that such was the fact. Family tradition has it that his Revolutionary war service was rendered when he was a mere boy, and this accords with his statement limiting his residence in Connecticut to sixteen or eighteen years. The record of his own birth in his bible could easily be the least reliable entry in it, since it would be dependent upon hearsay and not upon his own knowledge.

⁷ See note 4.

The Captain Chapley referred to in his declaration was undoubtedly Captain Adam Shapley, who was in command of a company at New London from July 3, 1776⁸ until September 6, 1781,⁹ when he was mortally wounded at Fort Griswold at the time the town was raided and burned by Benedict Arnold and his men. The "Bomen's Creek" mentioned was Bowman's creek, the name then given to the present Canajoharie, Montgomery county, New York, and the adjacent territory.

ON THE NEW YORK FRONTIER

From his statement that he lived sixteen or eighteen years in Connecticut and then moved to Bowman's creek, it may be assumed that Jesse left Connecticut very soon after his discharge from the Revolutionary service. This assumption is sustained by the fact that before the Revolution ended, he enrolled in the militia of the portion of Albany county, New York, now constituting Columbia county.¹⁰ Enrollment in the state militia of all able-bodied men between certain ages was required by the New York law of that day. The evidence of Jesse's enrollment was in a document in the office of the state comptroller of New York, made out a short time before the close of the Revolutionary war. The exact date of the enrollment cannot now be determined, since the document was among those that were partially destroyed by fire in the New York state capitol in 1911.

It would interest us to know the cause of the fire that destroyed Jesse's home on Bowman's creek, just as it would interest us to know the reason for his enlisting in the militia of Albany county instead of in his own county of Tryon, as Montgomery county was called in Revolutionary times. Tryon county—renamed Montgomery county, owing to the unpopularity of the British governor, Tryon—was the center of fierce border warfare in the later years of the Revolution. There the Indians of the Six Nations, led by the famous Mohawk Indian chieftain, Brant, and the British soldiers and Tories under Johnson and the Butlers, devastated the country, burning houses and crops and driving away the settlers. Canajo-

⁸ *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, 1775-76, Vol. XV. 463.

⁹ Caulkin's *History of New London*, 561.

¹⁰ James A. Roberts, New York, in the Revolution as Colony and State 238.

harie and the Mohawk valley were ravaged in 1780. By the end of 1781, the incomplete records available show that in Tryon county alone, 700 buildings had been burned and 354 families had been driven from their homes. Such warfare continued in New York for a year and a half after Cornwallis' surrender, in 1781.¹¹ Jesse's home may have been destroyed in some raid, and he may have gone to Albany county for a temporary refuge. On the other hand, the fire may have been accidental; and, since Albany county lay between Connecticut and Bowman's creek, Jesse may have tarried there when on his way originally from Connecticut, finding it expedient to enroll at that time.

In connection with the Canajoharie (Bowman's creek) residence, we find Jesse Kimball mentioned in the 1st United States census of New York (taken in 1790) as a resident of Canajoharie, and head of a family containing one male over sixteen, one male under sixteen, and four females.

There was a considerable migration from Connecticut to the valley of the Mohawk river after the Revolution, and there were other Kimballs living in Montgomery county in 1790 in or near Canajoharie. Among them were David Kimball and his brother, Nathan,¹² both of whom were born in Preston, Connecticut. They were second cousins of Jesse. The others were apparently not closely related to him. The fact that relatives were already on the New York frontier, would furnish a strong reason for a youth of Jesse's age going so far from home as he did to acquire a farm.

In the real estate records of Montgomery county, we find that on April 21, 1789, Jesse Kimball acquired 97 acres of land in Canajoharie district for 270 pounds. On the same day he sold another piece containing 213 acres for 340 pounds. The deed transferring this last piece of property was acknowledged by him at Canajoharie on August 31, 1790. The records of Montgomery county do not show how or when he obtained it. It may be that the deed covering its acquisition was burned in the fire that destroyed his home on Bowman's creek, as in those days, deeds and other documents were often held in pri-

¹¹ Francis Whiting Halsey, *Old New York Frontier*, 312-313.

¹² U. S. Census 1790, New York; Morrison and Sharples, *History of the Kimball Family*, 257-258.

vate houses for years before they were recorded. No such papers were recorded in Montgomery county prior to 1790. The deed to the land that Jesse purchased in 1789 was not recorded until 1809. Both pieces of his property lay on Bowman's creek about six miles southwest of Canajoharie town, in the tract patented to John Lyne in 1736.

INDIAN WAR SERVICE

We quote further from Jesse's pension declaration:

I moved next (after leaving New York) to Henderson county, Kentucky. I think I lived in that state about ten years, though between that time and the time I was discharged by Captain Chapley, I enlisted in the Indian wars for the term of three years. I served my time out, and was discharged by Captain John H. Buel, at Cincinnati, Ohio. After that, I came down to Henderson intending to go on to New Orleans, but the captain of the boat on which I was got to be so afraid of the Indians that he sold out and left me without money, and I never got back to Connecticut only on a visit. I need only say that on my return home I had only to pay 25 cents. I could scarcely travel for persons making inquiry about the wars, so they never charged me from Henderson to Connecticut. I bought one watermelon for 25 cents; was all my journey cost me. And then I moved to this county (Gibson county, Indiana) where I have lived for the last, I think, thirty-eight years or near that, maybe more or less.

A diligent search of the war department records relating to the Indian wars subsequent to the Revolution, fails to show any mention of Jesse Kimball. The adjutant general at Washington states that he has no list of the soldiers in Captain [John H.] Buel's company of the 2nd regiment, the company in which Jesse would have been. The early records of the war department are, however very incomplete, since the United States war office, then located in Philadelphia, was burned November 8, 1800, with all its contents. Fortunately the time of Jesse's service can be established indirectly, as we shall see.

Realizing, after General (Josiah) Harmar's defeat at the hands of the Indians in 1790, that a larger army was necessary for the service in the west, congress authorized the formation of the 2nd regiment of United States infantry, March 3, 1791, and Captain Buel was appointed to a command in the new

regiment within a month.¹³ A letter written by the secretary of war August 11, 1791, states that Captain Buel was to march that day from New Brunswick, New Jersey—the place which had been his recruiting station—and that he was expected to reach Fort Pitt (Pittsburg) in a month or more.¹⁴ On September 18, 1791, Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest territory and commander in chief of the military forces in the west after Harmar's defeat, wrote to the secretary of war from his headquarters at Fort Washington (Cincinnati) that he had heard of Captain Buel's arrival at Fort Pitt.¹⁵ Captain Buel therefore made the march with his men within the time planned.

On October 20, 1791, Maj. Ebenezer Denny, aid de camp to General St. Clair, wrote in his diary:¹⁶

an express this day from Fort Washington. Captain Buel's company of the 2nd Regiment had arrived there from the eastward.

Since General St. Clair's men left Cincinnati on their ill-fated campaign against the Indians late in September, Captain Buel's company, in which Jesse was enrolled, missed accompanying them by only a few days.

On the 19th of November, 1791, after the failure of the St. Clair expedition, Major Denny embarked at Cincinnati for the east; and in his diary, speaking of the passengers on the boat, he remarked:

Captain Buel, of the 2nd Regiment, who arrived at Fort Washington some short time after the army had marched from there, and where he chose to remain, is now returning home.

It is clear to us, as it may not have been to Major Denny, that Captain Buel's remaining at Cincinnati was not a matter of his own choice. That General St. Clair had planned to have Captain Buel and his company stay there for garrison duty during his (St. Clair's) absence may be inferred from the statement in his letter of September 18, to which we have already referred:

I had the honor to advise you of the arrival of General Butler and the last of the troops I had reason to expect for the campaign.

¹³ *Heitman's Historical Register and Dictionary of the Army*, 260.

¹⁴ *Smith St. Clair Papers*, II, 230.

¹⁵ *St. Clair Papers*, II, 240.

¹⁶ *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, VII. "A Military Journal kept by Major E. Denny." 1781 to 1795.

and from the letter he wrote from Fort Washington to the secretary of war on October 6, 1791:

In order to communicate with some degree of certainty with your office, I have directed Captain Buel, when he arrives, to send a sergeant and twelve men to a house that has been newly erected, half way between this place (Cincinnati) and Lexington, to each of which two men are to be sent off on every Monday morning to carry dispatches. * * * I am this moment setting out for the army which I hope to overtake tomorrow evening.¹⁷

We may feel considerable certainty that Jesse had a part in the bearing of these dispatches from Cincinnati to Lexington, from which point they were forwarded to the seat of government at Philadelphia by way of Boone's wilderness trace. Fleet-footed and athletic as he is known to have been, we can picture him as an acceptable scout and messenger at this critical time.

The return of Captain Buel to the east, mentioned by Major Denny, was evidently merely temporary since in 1792-93 Buel was in the 2nd Sub-Legion,¹⁸ a part of the organization formed by General Anthony Wayne when he succeeded General St. Clair. Wayne conducted a successful campaign against the Indians, a campaign that terminated in 1794 in the battle of Fallen Timbers. In this conflict, the power of the Indians in the west was so broken that the peace that followed endured for sixteen years. Jesse Kimball must have been with Buel in this 2nd Sub-Legion.

It has already been shown that Jesse was in Canajoharie as late as August 31, 1790—the date when he personally acknowledged his deed to property. His family bible gives October 25, 1794, as the date of the birth of his first child after his marriage to Elizabeth Roelofson. It would seem proper, therefore, to assume that he came west with the 2nd infantry in 1791, and that his three years of service covered 1791-92-93. He probably reached Henderson in Kentucky late in 1793 or early in 1794.

There is a well-authenticated family tradition to the effect that Jesse contracted an unfortunate marriage before he came west, a marriage that terminated in a divorce and his de-

¹⁷ *St. Clair Papers* II, 245

¹⁸ *Heitman*, I, 260.

parture from the scene of his troubles.¹⁹ His entering the United States army for service in the Indian wars must have occurred at about that time. The tradition concerning the divorce finds support in the record of the family belonging to Jesse Kimball in Canajoharie, New York, in the census of 1790. The four females and one boy were probably his wife and members of her family. The divorce, which its accompanying grief and mortification, goes far toward explaining the somewhat surprising fact that a man of his character and standing, as indicated by his real estate transactions in New York and Kentucky and by his life in Indiana, would join such an organization as the 2nd regiment of the United States army was at the time of the Indian wars. The regiment is known to have been made up, at that period, of a very disreputable element of the community. The quality of many of the men is indicated by the following passage from Maj. Denny's "Military Journal," dated Nov. 7, 1791:

The prediction [of defeat] by General Harmar before the army set out on the campaign was founded on his experience and particular knowledge of things. He saw with what material the bulk of the army was composed—men collected from the streets and prisons of the cities and hurried out into the enemies' country.

¹⁹ From letter of Mrs. Amyet Burton Harris, granddaughter of Jesse Kimball, and daughter of Mahala Kimball.

Caldwell, Idaho, August 1, 1918.

I think Aunt Sarah's first husband's name was Jesse Kimball. They were first cousins. (He) lived a long distance away. He and (she) had never met until he came to visit his uncle and family. It was a case of love at first sight, and in course of time they were married and lived happily together on what was later the Levi Jones place, and still later the Lydia Knowles place.

Aunt Sarah was the beauty, in her father's family. Her husband died and left her with the little boy Charles. Then she lived with her father and mother until in course of time she married Uncle Hullum.

Yes, grandfather was a Revolutionary soldier. He and Mr. Wyatt and another man, I can't quite call his name, all living in the vicinity of Owensville, Princeton and Cynthiana, were shown great military honors at celebrations on the 4th of July.

Grandfather had two sisters who I think lived with him, also his parents,—one Aunt Amy, the other Aunt Thankful.

I remember when I was a child, a lawyer came out from Evansville and talked pension to grandfather,—talked of everything pertaining to it, and left. We never heard of it again. Grandpa never looked it up. He had plenty and was not grasping for more.

Yes, there was an unhappy marriage, and consequently a divorce. I do not know who the first wife was, or what state they lived in when married, but think it was in the far east.

The entire United States army, at that time, consisted of the 1st and 2nd regiments of infantry and some militia, the latter mainly from Kentucky. The 1st regiment had been retained from Revolutionary service, and although containing fewer than 300 men, was a high grade organization, very different from the hurriedly formed 2nd regiment.

THE KENTUCKY FRONTIER AND THE ROELOFSON FAMILY

One of the problems connected with Jesse's life that long seemed insoluble was that of when and where he married Elizabeth Roelofson, the mother of the children named in his family bible. Recent discoveries have made it clear that the marriage occurred in Kentucky in the winter of 1793-94, soon after his arrival there.

Family tradition pictures the wife as of Holland Dutch descent, fair, ruddy-cheeked, stout, industrious, and "no taller than the back of a splint-bottomed chair." The following account of her wedding journey, as repeated by one of her granddaughters,²⁰ shows her to have been level-headed and resolute, as well:

I don't remember hearing grandfather speak of serving in the Indian War, but he was familiar with the Indian mode of warfare and took great pleasure in having me read to him hour after hour of those things. He and grandmother were married in those troublous times. Do not know where they were married or by whom. Our grandmother was a Miss Elizabeth Roleson. Came from Germany [more probably Holland. G. W. B.] when a child, with her parents. Do not know where they settled, but it was among American people. Grandma said they, the children, would hide out when they would see someone coming toward the house, as there would probably be questions asked and they could neither speak nor understand our language.

When Grandpa and she were married, the country was sparsely settled. The Indians roamed the forest and were very troublesome. The whites lived in little settlements [Near stockades. G. W. B.] here and there. I do not know how far he went for her, but they had been married and were enroute for his home on horseback, following a bridle path. It was very cold weather. They traveled on and on, after night-fall, hoping to reach the settlement. They were suffering much from cold but on they went. After hours of solitary riding through deep lonely forests, they routed a bunch of hogs from their hiding. They were suffering so terribly with cold that grandpa suggested they tie their

²⁰ Mrs. Amyet Burton Harris.

horses and get into the hog bed until morning to keep from freezing. Grandma said: "No I never have slept in a hog bed. This shows we are nearing the settlement. Let's press on." So they did, and after a time came in sight of a house all aglow with light. They rode up and he called out—when in an instant all was dark again. Grandpa called and pleaded but there was no response. He said: "I know you well," calling the man by name. But they (the occupants of the house) were afraid of Indians as they would resort to such tricks to get into houses and slaughter the inmates. He continued to plead and tell them of circumstances, places and people which he and they were familiar with. At last the lamps were cautiously lighted and they were invited in and met with a warm welcome, and were hospitably entertained until morning.

A recent book by a genealogist who has devoted many years of research to the Roelofson-Rulison family,²¹ states that the family originated in Germany, one branch migrating to Denmark and another to Holland, thence to America. The German form of the name was Ruloff, the Danish form Ruloffsen, changing gradually in America to Rulison. The Holland branch called itself Roelofson. Many variations in the name have appeared, due to errors in transcribing or to attempts to spell it phonetically. Elizabeth is a common name among the women of the family. Wherever a copy of the signature of a member of this family occurs in the Henderson county, Kentucky records, the Holland form of the name is used, indicating clearly that Elizabeth's family was from Holland.

Several members of the Roelofson family lived on Schoharie creek in Montgomery county, New York, a few miles only from Canajoharie, and very near where Jesse's cousins settled.²² Jesse may have been acquainted with them during his residence there. Another member of the family, Lawrence Roelofson, Sr., moved from western Pennsylvania to Kentucky with his two sons, William and Lawrence, Jr., his seven daughters,²³ and at least two sons-in-law, settling at or near Fort

²¹ Henry Flagler Rulison, *Genealogy of the Rulison—Rulifson—Ruliffson Families*, 170.

²² U. S. Census 1790—New York; also Henry F. Rulison *Rulison Genealogy*, 15, and *History of the Kimball Family*, 257.

²³ *Genealogy Rulison, Rulifson, Ruliffson Families*, page 171.

NOTE—Mr. Rulison, in a personal letter to the writers before his book was issued, stated that he had done no research work in the Henderson county, Kentucky, records, but had received his information concerning the Kentucky Roelofsons from two granddaughters of Lawrence Roelofson, Jr. His published account, therefore, so far as it relates to Lawrence, Jr., and his father shows many

Vienna, on Green river.²⁴ The earliest record known to the writers relating to Lawrence Roelofson, Sr., is that in which his name and the name of his son-in-law, Norod Franceway, appear in the venire summoned September 17, 1781, for the first grand jury in Washington county, Pennsylvania.²⁵ The family had evidently made their home there on arriving from Holland. Lawrence Roelofson's name does not appear in the list of those who served on this grand jury, and we may believe that after having been summoned, he was found ineligible owing to the fact that he was then unable to speak or understand English.

We do not know when Lawrence Roelofson, Sr., arrived at Fort Vienna, but he and his family were living there in 1790.²⁶

of the inaccuracies and uncertainties of family tradition. For example, *Christian* Roelofson is named as the father of Lawrence, Jr., and he is assumed to be a brother of the Lawrence who lived on Schoharie creek, N. Y. Reliable records, however, show that the father's name was Lawrence and he therefore, could not have been a brother of the New York Lawrence. It is also stated that Lawrence, Jr., was born in Henderson county, Kentucky, in 1772; but the evidence at hand shows that none of the Roelofsons were in Henderson county until after 1790. Even then they were among the first white settlers at Red Banks. Elizabeth Roelofson's information that the children were born in Europe (see Mrs. Harris' letter, p. 13) is probably more accurate than that of Mr. Rulison's informants.

Mr. Rulison's book contains a gripping tale of the last journey of Ann Roelofson Scott, a daughter of Lawrence, Jr., which we quote:

"April 1, 1852, John Tucker Scott with his family, consisting of his wife, Ann Roelofson and nine children, and several other families, started overland across the 'great plains' to go to Oregon, then a territory, with a caravan of ox teams. The journey consumed full six months. When in the Black Hills of Wyoming, then the territory of Nebraska, at a point in the trail about seventy miles north of the present city of Cheyenne, Ann Roelofson Scott died, June 20, 1852. She was sick but a few hours with what was known as 'plains cholera.' Around her lowly bed on the ground in a shelter tent where she died, were her husband and nine children, the youngest three years and six months old, the oldest nineteen years. Her last words were: 'All is well.' All was indeed well with her, but for her children, what a calamity! A grave was made for her in the soft sandstone by chiseling out a coffin-shaped vault. She was wrapped in cerements and buried by the side of the trail, in a wilderness far from civilization—without a coffin. The next morning the oxen were yoked up and the caravan again started westward, her husband and children with anguished hearts and fearsome glances backward to the new-made grave."

Harvey Whitefield Scott, a son of Ann Roelofson Scott, became one of the prominent leaders of thought in Oregon. For more than forty years he was editor of the Portland *Oregonian*. His funeral ceremonies in 1910, conducted by Masonic fraternities, are referred to as the most notable ever held in Oregon.

²⁴ See note. 28.

²⁵ Boyd Crumrine *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*, 235-236.

²⁶ Isaac Knight states that he heard the shot that killed Mr. Downs. See note 28. The year in which Thomas Downs was killed is given in the following from Collins, *History of Kentucky*, II, 597. McLean county. A party of trappers from the fort at Vienna, in 1790, while at the mouth of Green river, was attacked

The fort was built not later than 1788, probably in 1784 or 1785,²⁷ on the site of the present town of Calhoun in McLean county. Existing evidence shows that some time prior to April 8, 1793, Lawrence, Sr., and his family moved from Fort Vienna to Red Banks, the name of the first settlement on the site of the present city of Henderson, arriving there when only one of the families living in the place boasted a house, the others dwelling in camps.²⁸ It is probable that he was living in this settlement when Jesse first reached it.

by Indians, who killed McElmurray and wounded Wm. Faith, a lad of 17, who made his escape and returned to the fort. About the same time, the Indians killed Thos. Downs near the fort.

²⁷ Otto A. Rothert, *History of Muhlenberg County*, 30.

²⁸ From *The Story of Isaac Knight, Indian Captive*.

The above is the title of a 21-page pamphlet written by Rev. Hiram A. Hunter from data supplied by Isaac Knight. The pamphlet was published in 1839 in Evansville, Ind., and reprinted in Overbrook, Kansas, in 1901. The greater part of the narrative was reproduced in Brant and Fuller *History of Vanderburg County, Indiana*. In 1814 Isaac Knight moved to Vanderburg county, Indiana, and occupied a farm a few miles east of Evansville where he passed the remainder of his life. Knight township in Vanderburg county, was named for him. A historical painting by the artist Wilson representing the capture of Isaac Knight by the Indians hangs in the Memorial coliseum in Evansville. Much of our knowledge of the journeyings of the Roelofson family in Kentucky is derived from Mr. Hunter's pamphlet.

"Isaac Knight, the subject of the following narrative, was born in what was then called Washington county, in Pennsylvania; his father was John Knight who married Ann Rolison, by whom he had seven sons, of whom Isaac was the eldest. When the subject of this narrative was a child, his father removed, by water, in company with his father-in-law, Mr. Lawrence Rolison, and Norod Franceway, who had married in the same family. These all settled at or near the place, known by the name of Vienna (now Calhoun) on Green river, about eighty miles above its mouth, where, with much difficulty, they lived some years, grinding their corn on hand mills or pounding it in a mortar; and at one time such was the difficulty with which bread stuff was had, that Isaac's father bought some corn at the mouth of Green river, at one dollar and twenty-five cents per bushel, and conveyed it to his family in a perogue or canoe. Indeed, the difficulties under which the first settlers of that part of Kentucky labored, were almost insupportable.

For the security of the whites and their families, they were impelled to build and resort to forts in as large bodies as their thinly settled population would permit. Uniting their energies, they labored by turn in each man's field, one or more, as necessity required, standing as sentinel.

Seldom would anything short of abundant sign of Indian hostilities drive them in the spring of the year, from their homely huts. It is, however, perfectly within the recollection of the author of this narrative, that, when a boy, he heard the report of a gun, which killed dead one of the finest men in the settlement, and one, too, who lived within a few steps of his father's door. Mr. Downs, who was thus shot by the Indians, left a wife and seven children to lament his untimely death. He was most cruelly used by the savage butchers, and left scalped on the ground.

About this time the country about the Red Banks, on the Ohio river, now known as Henderson, in Henderson county, Kentucky, began to be spoken of as a most desirable section, and Isaac's father, with the rest of the connection, moved

The following extract from the journal of one B. Van Cleve, published in the *American Pioneer*, describes the social conditions at Red Banks as they may have appeared to Jesse when he arrived there:

July 8, 1794. Came to Red Banks. This place is a refuge, not for the oppressed, but for all the horse thieves, rogues and outlaws that have been able to effect their escape from justice in the neighboring states. Neither law nor gospel has been able to reach here as yet. A commission of the peace had been sent by Kentucky to one Mason; and an effort had been made by the Southwest Territory (Tennessee) to introduce law, as it was unknown as yet to which it belonged; but the inhabitants drove the persons away and insisted upon doing without. I inquired how they managed to marry, and was told that the parties agreed to take each other for husband and wife before their friends.²⁹

This description is far from flattering, and it is evident that the writer's knowledge of Red Banks' society did not include the whole population. The lawless element in such a

to that place, where they found a few families residing. But one house was yet erected—the rest of the families lived in camps. In removing to this place, their property being conveyed by water, except the stock, Isaac, then a boy about nine or ten years of age, assisted in driving them. They at length arrived all in safety, at the Red Banks, where even greater difficulties were undergone by settlers, than had been endured by them at Vienna. Here, too, as at the former place, they cultivated the soil in safety, only by means of sentinels. But these only secured them from the attacks of red men. Greater fears were excited among the quiet settlers, by the inhuman conduct of some white men, Kuykendall, Ayers, Ashley, Howard, Cane, and the Masons, who seemed to delight more in bloodshed and murder than in anything else. With such men as these they were harassed for some years, and no man's life was considered secure, who was so unfortunate as to incur their displeasure."

Isaac Knight was captured by Indians across the river from Red Banks, April 8, 1793. In the summer of 1795 he escaped and returned to Kentucky. From Cincinnati he and a companion went down the Ohio in a boat. The narrative continues as follows:

"After running some days, they landed at the mouth of Harden Creek. Here Isaac met a young married woman, with whom he had gone to school before he was taken by the Indians. They recognized each other, and she informed him that his father and friends had removed from the Red Banks to what was then, and is now called, Knight's Falls, on Green river. He was here advised to land at the Yellow Banks, which he did. Now we find the weary, anxious little prisoner within thirty miles of his father's dwelling.

From this place he started alone and afoot along a path some twelve miles in length to the house of an old acquaintance, Mr. Martin Vernado, with whom he had been often fortified at Vienna, when but a child.

Next morning the kindness of Mr. Vernado and one of his sons impelled them to accompany Isaac, in a canoe, down Green River, to his father's house."

²⁹ Mr. Van Cleve gives Mason as the source of his information. This Mason was probably the leader of the bandits who made Diamond Island near Red Banks their principal haunt. They plundered boats and murdered passengers and crews. See Cuming, *A Tour in Thwaites Early Western Travels*, IV, 267-8.

community would naturally be much more conspicuous than the quieter residents, and it would be only natural for a transient traveler to gain an unfavorable impression of the whole. It is gratifying, however, to remember that Jesse's advent in Red Banks at that time was not of his own volition. As is shown by his statements in his pension application, he was on his way to New Orleans after receiving his discharge from the army at Cincinnati, becoming stranded at Red Banks when the captain sold the boat on which he was traveling. He must have been intending to take a ship at New Orleans that would carry him back to his home in Connecticut, for in commenting on the matter in his pension declaration, he says, "And so I never got back to Connecticut, only on a visit." Had the captain not become frightened, Jesse would doubtless have continued on his way to New Orleans, and this sketch would never have been written. During the ten years or more that he lived in the vicinity of Red Banks law and order were established. A county government was organized, and there were added to the population men of high standing such as the naturalist, Audubon, and Gen. Samuel Hopkins and his associates in the Henderson land company.

The Roelofson family, including the families of the married sons and daughters, must have formed a very appreciable part of the early population of Red Banks. It is not known just how long they remained there. We do know that on April 8, 1793, while the family were living at Red Banks, Lawrence's grandson, Isaac Knight, was captured by the Indians and carried far north of the Ohio. After two and one-half years of captivity, he escaped and returned to Kentucky in the fall of 1795, to find that his people had left Red Banks and were then living at a station on Green river. This station was known as Knight's Falls, and was probably established by his father, John Knight. It was in the northeastern part of the present county of Henderson, at or near Spottsville, where Lock and Dam No. 1 on Green river were afterward constructed.³⁰

We have no direct proof that Jesse Kimball moved to Knight's Falls with the Roelofsons, although their change of

³⁰ In returning to his parents, Isaac Knight traveled twelve miles by land, going from Yellow Banks, now Owensboro, to the big bend in Green River and eighteen miles down the river in a canoe to Knight's Falls.

residence occurred at about the time that he allied himself with them through his marriage to Elizabeth. There is valid ground, however, for inferring that he did so, and that he remained with them for a brief time.

His visit to Connecticut, of which he speaks in his pension declaration, must also have been made at about this time, and his wife, Elizabeth, and the eldest child, Polly, may have accompanied him. There is a vague family tradition to the effect that Sarah, the second daughter, whose birth occurred March 5, 1796, was born in Connecticut.³¹ The time would have been propitious for such a trip, since the breaking of the power of the Indians, through Wayne's victory in August, 1794, had left the country comparatively quiet, and a woman could have traveled in comparative safety. Such was very far from the case when Jesse first arrived at Red Banks. His determination then to return to Connecticut by way of New Orleans was doubtless due to the fact that the Indians were making travel up the Ohio extremely hazardous. The trip to Connecticut must have been made soon after Wayne's victory, and before the details of the campaign had become generally known. This would explain the eagerness for information that he says in his pension application was displayed all along the line of his journey. He must have been one of the first to carry the news.

It must have been shortly after his return from this visit that Jesse made improvements on a tract of land in what later became Hopkins county, Kentucky. Our knowledge of his interest in this tract is derived from powers of attorney that he and Lawrence Roelofson, Jr., executed in 1812 allowing the sale of their preemption claims.³² The rights of each of these men had been acquired from the commissioners of Logan county under authority of a law of Kentucky enacted in 1795, making provision for the sale of unoccupied lands between the Green and Cumberland rivers.³³ So long as Kentucky remained a part of Virginia, these lands had been

³¹ Family tradition supplied March 12, 1917, from Palmeto, Florida, by Enoch Jones, only surviving son of Jesse Kimball's daughter, Sarah and by Major George W. Kimball, her grandson.

³² Records County Court Clerk, Henderson, Kentucky. Deed Book C, pages 36-37.

³³ Humphrey Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, II, 177-178.

reserved for holders of Virginia military warrants. The claims of Jesse and Lawrence, Jr., must have been allowed between 1795 and March 1, 1797, the latter being the date when, by the organization of Christian county, the territory in which the lands were located ceased to be a part of Logan county.

The improvements on which these claims were based could hardly have been made before Wayne's victory had relieved the settlers in that Indian menaced region from the necessity of living in or near stockades. Jesse and his companion doubtless erected cabins and grew crops on the new tract, at some distance from the relatives at Knight's Falls.

Jesse must have been living near his wife's people at Knight's Falls in 1799. In August of that year, the county court at Henderson convened for its second meeting after organization, and took up the matter of establishing public highways.³⁴ An order was issued providing for a road from Henderson to Green River, and Lawrence Roelofson's two sons, his three sons-in-law, one of whom was Jesse Kimball, his grandson and certain neighbors were ordered to assist in the construction of the portion of the road between Lick creek and Green river. They would naturally have been asked to build the part of the road that was in the locality where they lived. E. L. Starling says, concerning this work:

There were but two surveyors and twenty-eight whites and four or five colored tithables to do the work required over the whole line of twenty miles, a work which included clearing, grubbing, leveling, filling and ditching thirty feet wide. From the list of men appointed to do this work, the reader may form an idea of the population of the country at this time, remembering, of course, that many of those named lived fully five, and some eight, miles from the line of the road.

Jesse Kimball and the Roelofsons probably continued living at Knights' Falls through the year 1800, since it was in July, 1800, that he and Lawrence Roelofson, Jr., witnessed the signature of Adam Lawrence, Sr., to his will. The two sons of Adam Lawrence were instructed in the above mentioned road order to work upon the same section of road to which Jesse and the Roelofsons had been assigned. All were evi-

³⁴ E. L. Starling, *History of Henderson County*, 55.

dently neighbors. The Lawrence farm was about three miles below Spottsville, on Green river.³⁵

In 1801, the sons and sons-in-law of Lawrence, Sr., acquired lands near Highland creek, southwest of Red Banks, and moved there, forming what was then called Roelofson's Settlement. When, in 1843, a post office was established there, the place took the name Smith Mills. The name was given in honor of Col. Robert Smith, whose father, Thomas Smith, had come to Red Banks with his family from western Pennsylvania in 1796. Thomas Smith may have been a brother-in-law of Lawrence Roelofson, Sr., who had married a Sarah Smith.³⁶ The Smiths found the low lands about Red Banks unhealthy, and removed to the higher land at Roelofson's settlement. Colonel Robert was also a brother-in-law of Jesse, having wedded one of Lawrence Roelofson's daughters, in 1803.³⁷ Colonel Robert erected a horse mill at Roelofson's settlement at an early day, and it is probable that Jesse helped build and operate it, since he was a skillful millwright, and is known to have engaged in milling in Kentucky. There is nothing to indicate that he ever owned a mill there himself.

A paragraph descriptive of Smith Mills, taken from E. L. Starling *History of Henderson County*, pictures conditions as Jesse must have found them when he went with the Roelofsons from Knight's Falls to the new settlement near Highland creek.

It is a village located at the junction of the Henderson and Morganfield and the Henderson and Mt. Vernon roads. It is situated upon high rolling land, and is one of the prettiest natural locations to be found anywhere. The section of country comprising this voting precinct was originally as wild as the early pioneer could wish; and not very many years anterior to its settlement, it was inhabited by bear, wild cats, wolves, panthers, and endless numbers of deer and wild turkeys. Bear were known in this part of the country as late as 1835. In early times this precinct was known as Rowlandson's Settlement, taking its name from that of William Rowlandson and several brothers, who were probably the first settlers.

The little community, from a moral standpoint at least, must have been a superior one. The Roelofsons were un-

³⁵ Records County Court Clerk, Henderson, Ky. Will Book A, pages 5-6-7. Deed Book "A", page 106.

³⁶ *Genealogy of the Rulison, Rulifson, Ruliffson Families*, 171.

³⁷ Starling, *History of Henderson County, Kentucky*, 672.

doubtedly people of piety. We read in histories of religious development in Kentucky, that Lawrence Rollison was one of the young men licensed in 1802 by the Transylvania presbytery to "exhort and catechize."³⁸ It was the revoking of this license of Lawrence Roelofson and others by the commission of synod of Kentucky in 1805, that led to the formation of the Cumberland Presbyterian church.³⁹ The Great Revival that began its sweep over Kentucky in 1800, won numerous converts in the western part of the state. There were not enough regularly trained preachers to meet the needs of the growing congregations, hence the appointment of untrained and probably scantily educated men such as Lawrence Roelofson, Jr., and his associates. Reverend James McGready, the leader of the revival, spent his last days in Henderson county, ministering to several congregations, one of which was at Roelofson's settlement.⁴⁰

In spite of the stirring scenes amid which much of Jesse's early life had been spent, he had always remained a farmer at heart. He was never in a locality for any length of time without acquiring a piece of land. The real estate records of Henderson county show that on January 1, 1801, he received a deed for 150 acres of land in that county, paying the sum of \$200 therefor. The land was located at the present Smith Mills. Lawrence Roelofson obtained title to a portion of the same tract of land on the same day. His name appears as one of the witnesses to the signature of the deed to Jesse's land. We have already mentioned the fact that Jesse and Lawrence, Jr., each acquired preemption rights to 200 acres of land in Hopkins county.

In 1807 Jesse sold his farm in Henderson county, together with some live stock. The deed for the land was dated January 6, 1808. He fell into a dispute with Elias Turner, the purchaser of the land; and the records of the suits to which the dispute led still exist in Henderson county.⁴¹ From them may be gathered much concerning the life of the time. The

³⁸ James Smith, *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, 593.

³⁹ Rev. Robert Davidson, *The History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky*, 239.

J. H. Spencer, *History of Kentucky Baptist I.*, 527.

⁴⁰ Smith, *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, 672.

⁴¹ Records Circuit Court Clerk, Henderson, Kentucky. Case No. 1216, Jesse Kimball vs. Elias Turner. Case No. 1233, Elias Turner vs. Jesse Kimball.

suits involved sundry wild hogs bearing Jesse's "mark." Turner asserted that the hogs he had bargained for with the land in 1807 had been sold again to one Abner Lee, and that he had been refused permission to hunt them. He asked damages. Abner Lee testified that he had bought only tame hogs, from Kimball, and that Turner had said to him:

He would be glad if Kimball would hurry and get all his hogs away, for, says he, Kimball has given me the privilege, after he gets all the hogs away that can be collected of his, to take any of the wild hogs of his that I can find, and I wish to turn out to hunting as I am informed that Kimball has a large stock of hogs which had run away several years before.

The arbitrators, appointed under authority of a Kentucky law enacted in 1795,⁴² awarded thirty dollars damages to Turner on November 15, 1810, for "detention of his claims," but decided that "Kimball is not to be liable for anything that happened to said wild hogs heretofore."

REMOVAL TO THE INDIANA FRONTIER

The following extract from Tarrt *History of Gibson County*, doubtless based on interviews with pioneers and their descendants, relates to Jesse Kimball's residence in Kentucky, and to his removal to Indiana:

Jesse Kimball, born in Connecticut, March 23, 1760, served in the Revolutionary War, and about 1795, came down the Ohio River to Red Banks, now Henderson, Kentucky, where he settled and soon afterward built a horse mill. He lived here and engaged in milling, farming and trading with the Indians for several years. He had some difficulty with the "Redskins," and one time, while he was out in a maple grove making sugar, they came and burned his cabin and carried off everything of value that suited their fancy. Becoming dissatisfied with his location, he crossed the river and came north into Indiana Territory and made a settlement in the southeast quarter of section 34, township 3 south, range 12 west. The date of his arrival is about the same as that of Thomas Montgomery, in 1805. The spot which he selected for his home was upon the site of an old Indian village, and his cabin stood near a large perennial spring of pure cold water. About 1810, he built and operated a water mill on Black River, a few hundred yards east of his cabin. He subsequently constructed a horse mill which was in operation as late as 1840. He planted an apple orchard on his place which

⁴² Humphrey Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, II, 175.

was in bearing as early as 1812 or 1814. * * * He was very fleet of foot, and frequently had foot races with the Indians. On one occasion, in a trial of speed, he beat a chief running, which so disgusted the Indian that he declared that he would not run again.

A resident of southern Indiana who is familiar with many details of Jesse's life, adds an interesting sequel to the above mentioned race with the Indian chief.⁴⁴ He says that Jesse had no sooner won the race than he realized that his victory would probably cause him trouble in the future, since the Indians had grown sullen and discontented and were murmuring among themselves. With great sagacity and diplomacy, he therefore announced that the race had been won unsatisfactorily, and proposed that the chief run with him again. When nearing the goal in the second race, Jesse purposely stumbled and fell. The Indian was acclaimed the victor, good humor returned to his followers, and a situation that might have led to serious consequences was averted.

Considerable uncertainty exists as to the date when Jesse established his residence in Indiana. We have just seen that the Tarrt history represents him as moving there about 1805. The same history, in another place, gives 1804 or 1805 as the date. It will be recalled that Jesse himself names ten years as the length of his residence in Kentucky. This, if taken literally, would bring us to 1804.

Among the executive orders of William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, we find one issued to Captain William Hargrove, Commander of Rangers, directing him to attend a meeting which would be held at Mr. Kimbles, who lives on the site of the old Delaware town, eighteen or twenty miles southwest of Mr. Severns. The meeting was for the purpose of arranging for the protection of settlers going to the salt works west of the Wabash river.⁴⁵ This order, dated September 12, 1807, contains the earliest official mention of Jesse's residence in southern Indiana, of which we have any knowledge.

A great-great-grand daughter⁴⁶ of Jesse living on the old Kimball farm states that he moved his family there March

⁴⁴ Told the writer by Rev. D. B. Montgomery, Owensville, Ind., author of a *Genealogy of the Montgomery Family*. G. W. B.

⁴⁵ W. M. Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana*, 216.

⁴⁶ Mrs. Grace Rogers

11, 1808, and planted his corn in June. This statement finds some support in the testimony of Abner Lee, a witness in the suit brought by Elias Turner,

that in the fall of the year 1808, Kimball employed this deponent to collect all of the said Kimball's hogs that he possibly could collect, and that when collected to drive the said hogs to the said Kimball's present residence in Knox county, Territory of Indiana.

The apparent conflict in the dates given for Jesse's removal from Kentucky to Indiana, ranging as they do from 1804 to 1808, may be due to the differing view points of the persons whose statements are under consideration. His removal to the home on Black river had evidently been planned long and carefully. It is clear that he had explored the region north of the Ohio very thoroughly, and that his attention had been attracted to the site on Black river long before he moved his family there, probably even before 1804, the year when southern Indiana was opened to settlers. An old hunter told him of the location,⁴⁷ an exceptionally desirable one owing to the fact that on it was an ever-flowing spring of pure cold water. The Delaware Indians had made it the site of one of their towns, doubtless on account of the spring, and many interesting Indian relics have been collected in that vicinity. It is practically certain that it was from the Indian village on this site that Mrs. Talbot and her little son were rescued by discharged U. S. soldiers from Vincennes, in the year 1793.⁴⁸

Jesse probably erected a temporary dwelling on the newly selected land before he transferred his family there; and this habitation was presumably the place referred to by Governor Harrison as "Mr. Kimbles."

Jesse did not sever his connection with Henderson county completely, even after he transferred his family to Indiana, but passed back and forth at frequent intervals. Elias Turner, in an affidavit made in Henderson, January 1, 1810, states that "the defendant Kimball is itinerant here only, and he believes will shortly depart this commonwealth." Jesse was there as late as 1812, when he executed the power of attorney for disposing of the Hopkins county claim.

⁴⁷ Told by Rev. D. B. Montgomery.

⁴⁸ Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana*, chapter V.

An oft-quoted tradition to the effect that Jesse moved from Henderson county, because of trouble with the Indians lacks credibility, since in crossing into Indiana, he was certainly going into a region far more seriously menaced by Indians than western Kentucky was at that time. It is true that the Indians burned his house in Henderson county. They came while the family was away from home, and the fire was proved to have been their work when, shortly after the destruction of his home, Jesse saw an Indian wearing a shawl that had been one of the prized possessions of his wife.⁴⁹ It had been taken in the general looting of the house that preceded its destruction. It is said that he had incurred the enmity of certain Indians by refusing to give them whiskey on some occasion when they demanded it. The burning of his home may have been because of this refusal. The millers of those days were accustomed to operate stills in connection with their grist mills,⁵⁰ as in that way any surplus grain could be converted into a product that could be conveyed a great distance with comparative ease. The nearest market for their produce was New Orleans, and the product of the stills was less bulky to transport and less liable to damage from weather than the grain itself. The Indians undoubtedly knew that he made "fire water," and his unwillingness or inability to furnish it upon demand would very naturally have aroused their resentment. It is probable, however, that his removal from Kentucky to Indiana was due to the appeal to him of the latter place as a farming region, and not to his fear of the Indians in Kentucky.

An additional extract from Tarrt, *History of Gibson County* shows some of the conditions under which Jesse and his associates lived:

These pioneer settlers experienced a great many hardships in locating in a wilderness, far distant from civilization, surrounded by wild beasts and the fiercer red men, and it was only the bravest and most

⁴⁹ Sketch of Jesse Kimball written by his grandson, Elisha Jones.

⁵⁰ John C. Leffel, *History of Posey County, Indiana*.

Robinson's Township—Charles Kimball obtained permission from the County Commissioners to build a mill at the bridge where the Evansville and New Harmony road crosses Big Creek * * * These mills had a capacity of from 15 to 25 bushels a day. The miller was compelled to carry on some other kind of business in connection with his mill to support his family. In many cases distilleries were run in connection with them.

stalwart men that undertook the task. They lived mostly on the wild meats of the forest, cultivating at first only small patches of Indian corn, which was tended with rifle in hand. Old Red Banks or Henderson, Kentucky, was the nearest point at which they could get the corn ground, and then with a horse-mill, waiting sometimes two or three days for their turn at the mill. A trip was usually made about once a year to the Saline wells in Southern Illinois, a distance of about seventy miles, for a supply of salt, for which they paid \$2.50 per bushel, and carried it home on horseback. There was always a fear of the savages, and the pioneer was always prepared for an attack. They were, however, very fortunate in not being disturbed.

Colonel Cockrum, in his *Pioneer History of Indiana*, gives the following details of Jesse's early life in Indiana:

In 1810, Jesse Kimball built a flutter-wheel water mill on Black River about six miles south of Owensville, Indiana, and ground corn for himself and few neighbors for several years. Mr. Kimball came to that neighborhood in 1804 from the Red Banks, now Henderson, Kentucky, and took the burrs with him from Henderson with a horse in the shafts and a pole through the stones for an axle.

A cane made from a mud sill of the above-mentioned mill, now in the possession of one of Jesse's descendants in southern Indiana, shows that the sill was black walnut. That valuable wood was common in Indiana in pioneer days.

In moving his family from Henderson county to the new home north of the Ohio, Jesse was fortunate in not being obliged to hew his way through pathless forest. An old Indian trail led from Red Banks to Vincennes, passing within a few miles of Jesse's home. It was known as the Red Banks trail, and could be traversed by vehicles. It was patrolled for some time in order to protect the immigrants from the Indians.⁵¹ Without doubt it was over this trail that Jesse traveled in his unique vehicle with mill-stones for wheels and a pole through them for an axle.

LATER LIFE IN INDIANA

The statement in Jesse's pension application, made in 1847, that he had then lived in Gibson county about thirty-eight years, is clearly one of the approximations characteristic of

⁵¹ George R. Wilson, *Early Indiana Trails and Surveys*, 392-295; *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. 6, No. 3.

his later years. At the time of making the application, we know that he had made his home in Gibson county certainly forty years and probably longer.

During these forty years he must have gained a reputation for good judgment and common sense, since the Tarrt history records that in 1813 he was appointed one of the three appraisers for the first estate probated in the Gibson county court. He must also have enjoyed the good will and esteem of his neighbors as well, for while he occupied his Black river farm as early as 1807, he obtained no patent to the land until 1818. That he could retain possession of a farm for eleven years by merely living on it, in the days when claim-jumping and murderous fights over land were not uncommon, is an indication of the regard in which he was held in the community. A local historian who knew him said:

He would have been a bold man indeed who would have dared to interfere with the land ownership of one so respected and beloved as Jesse Kimball was.⁵²

The records of Posey county show that in May, 1819, he was appointed guardian of his grandsons, John and Charles J. Kimball, sons of Jesse W. and Sarah Kimball, their father having died.⁵³ Charles J. reached the age of sixteen in the year 1831. In 1832 the court granted him the right to choose his own guardian and he chose Jesse. Jesse probably continued in this relation until Charles was twenty-one years of age.

John L. Grimes, an attorney-at-law in Evansville, Indiana, who submitted Jesse's pension application to Washington in 1847, stated in his letter to the war department that when he asked Jesse to whom he could refer for information concerning his honesty and veracity, the answer came promptly and proudly, "Anyone within fifty miles, who knows me." Accompanying his pension application were affidavits from three of his old friends and neighbors who were glad to testify to his character. These men were the Reverend Joseph Wasson, John Sharp and William Sharp, Sr. They stated that they had been acquainted with him from twenty to forty years.

⁵² Told by Rev. D. B. Montgomery.

⁵³ See note 5.

In his old age, Jesse was frequently furnished a carriage or hack in which to ride in Fourth of July processions or on other patriotic occasions, owing to his being a Revolutionary war veteran.⁵⁴ Persons now living remember seeing Jesse and other aged veterans riding in a carriage which, as a mark of special honor, was drawn by men instead of horses.

The later years of his life seem to have been quiet and uneventful, spent on his farm and in his mill, and offering a decided contrast to his earlier life. He had done his part, slight though it was, in freeing his country from the domination of the British; he had helped to subdue the fierce Indian tribes; and his sturdy manhood must have contributed appreciably to the betterment of each of the pioneer communities in which he found himself. That he possessed ability, energy, initiative and foresight is clear when we remember that in addition to setting up one of the earliest mills in Gibson county, he is said to have built the first frame house and burned the first brick kiln.⁵⁵ The following quotation from a letter written by his granddaughter, Mrs. Harris, attests his mechanical ingenuity:

I remember a man calling him a Yankee. Grandpa had been repairing his carriage. He made the springs so there was a rocking motion instead of the ordinary springing motion. The man laughingly said, "My! these Yankees are a contriving race."

As age with increasing feebleness and blindness came upon him, we can imagine the comfort that he derived from the devotion of the sons and daughters who married and made their homes near the old home place. His faithful wife, Elizabeth, died in 1843; and after her death, his daughters, Sarah Kimball Jones and Cynthia Kimball Knowles, were especially

⁵⁴ From letter by Major George W. Kimball, Mt. Vernon, Indiana, March 10, 1920.

* * * It was in 1856 on the 4th of July when I witnessed at a public gathering (a Celebration) in one of the villages, either in or near Cynthiana, Posey Co., Indiana, seated in an open vehicle, two Revolutionary soldiers. One was Jesse Kimball, leaning upon a staff; the other Revolutionary soldier was said to be a man by the name of Wiley of whom I know nothing, but the incident, which includes quite a number of men in the scene, drawing these old soldiers with a rope attached to the vehicle amid a good deal of patriotic pride and enthusiasm.

From letter by John M. Grimes, attorney, Evansville, Indiana, August 2, 1847. Also see note 19.

⁵⁵ See note 49.

devoted to him. He died November 18, 1857, aged about ninety-seven years, and was buried beside his wife in the family graveyard on the farm. The grave of each is marked by a sandstone slab bearing some simple carving the work of a member of the family.⁵⁶

The old "burying ground" cannot but make a strong appeal to Jesse's descendants. In it lie generation after generation of Kimballs. Jesse's father and mother rest there, together with his sisters, Margaret, Amy and Thankful, and his nephew and son-in-law, Jesse W., although none of these graves can be located.⁵⁷ The old farm also awakens a deep sentimental interest. It is still in the possession of one of his descendants. Seven generations of Kimballs have quenched their thirst at the old spring.

Before his death, Jesse transferred the farm to his son, Isaac. The transfer was made in three different transactions, each involving one-third of the land, in 1849, 1851 and 1852 respectively. Jesse was then past ninety years of age. Blindness had even then come upon him, and the last two of the deeds were signed by a mark as he could no longer see to affix his signature. The distribution of the small amount of personal property remaining after his death was made by the court February 8, 1859.⁵⁸

The influences that led Jesse's father and mother to leave their old New England home and follow their son to the new location in the west were typical of the pioneer period. The move, both of the parents and of the brother, Isaac, and his sons, must have been a result of the visit Jesse made to

⁵⁶ Inscriptions in Kimball family burying ground near the old home on Black river, Gibson county, Indiana.

Sacred to the memory of Jesse Kimball who departed this life November 13th, 1857, aged 97 years, 8 months.

Sacred to the memory of Elizabeth Kimball, consort of Jesse Kimball, Senr., who departed this life december 4th 1843 aged 70 years. She was a believer in the Christian religion, and died in the triumph of faith.

An old foot stone leaning against a fence and inscribed J. W. K. probably once marked the grave of Jesse W. Kimball. G. W. B.

⁵⁷ Extract from Sarah J. Carter's letter:

Sarah J. Carter, of Cynthiana, Posey Co., Indiana, daughter of Jesse Kimball's youngest daughter, Mahala, writes Aug. 4, 1920: "Yes, I have heard one of the ancestors spoken of as old Aunt Thankful; also an old maid sister named Peggy lived and died at Jesse's home and was buried in the family cemetery. I remember hearing the older ones of the family speak of Aunt Thankful."

⁵⁸ Probate Order Book No. 2, Page 19, Princeton, Gibson county, Ind.

Connecticut after establishing himself in Kentucky. He makes a mere incidental reference to this visit in his pension paper, and we know nothing more about it, but it must have been one of the most far-reaching events of his life. We can imagine the stories that he told before the hearths of the settlers along the way from Kentucky to Connecticut. With the personal knowledge of recent Indian movements that he then possessed, and fresh from that earthly paradise, Kentucky, as he was, what wonder that he was entertained throughout his journey with no thought of pay. Visitors from the Ohio country were rare indeed in New England then, and to the New Englanders who were wresting their meagre livelihood from its stony barren soil, the tales that Jesse told of the lavish gifts nature had poured upon the region along "*La belle riviere*," as the French called the Ohio, must have been alluring indeed. No one can know how many families eventually made their way westward through the interest aroused by this one man. It was just such influences that drew settlers from one region to another in those days.

In appearance, Jesse was short, stocky, fair-skinned, and possibly red-haired as his father is said to have been. In accordance with the custom of the time, he wore his locks long, tying them on week days with a leather thong, and on Sundays with a black ribbon. He was a Whig and a staunch Methodist. He possessed a genial disposition, a keen sense of humor, and a decided gift for whimsical narrative. He was a true and a helpful friend to those who, like himself, were striving to gain a foothold in the wilderness. Stories are still current in southern Indiana illustrating this rare trait in his character.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ From letter of David B. Montgomery, Owensville, August 24, 1921:

"By 1808, the Samuel Barr family, formerly from Ireland, emigrated from North Carolina through Tennessee and Kentucky, and crossed the Ohio at Red Banks their destination being the Black River country. They were delayed on account of heavy rains on the Bluffs of Big Creek about one mile southeast of Cynthiana. The Flatts on this side of the creek were covered with water deep enough to swim a horse. When Jesse Kimball learned that the Barrs were held up by the high water he started to meet them and invite them to become his neighbors. He rode his horse as far as he could in the water without swimming. Then he climbed upon a high stump and called to the Barrs telling them that as soon as the water was low enough he would be there with a team to help them across the flat, saying, 'I have a fine quarter section selected for you.' He fulfilled his promise and he and the Barrs remained close friends as long as they lived."

He was not of the hunter-trapper-explorer type of pioneer to which Daniel Boone belonged—one of those roving spirits attracted irresistibly by the wilderness with its freedom and its adventure. He belonged to a class of different mold, the class that made the great untamed west an abode of home-builders. Fate seemed to mark him as fitted for this special task. More than once he was spared experiences that might have ended his career. He was discharged from the garrison at New London but a short time before the Arnold raid, when nearly everyone at Fort Griswold was massacred; he missed accompanying the disastrous St. Clair campaign by only a few days; he received his discharge from the Indian war only a short time before the decisive battle of Fallen Timbers. Furthermore, by the fact that a river captain became afraid to go any farther, he missed returning to New England after his term of military service in the west had expired, remaining to aid in establishing the empire beyond the mountains.

The years that Jesse devoted to military service brought him no reward in the form of pension or of land bounty. The failure to obtain a pension caused him no concern, however, as he had ample means to sustain him. He doubtless made the application at the solicitation of a lawyer. His claim was rejected because his three months of Revolutionary service did not satisfy the requirement of the law of that day which demanded at least six months. The three years he spent in the Indian wars did not entitle him to a pension. The statement made in the letters of his nephew, Isaac, to the effect that he had bounty land in Kentucky is an error. The property he owned, both in New York and in Kentucky, was bought from private owners. His preemption right in Kentucky was paid for at a price fixed by the state. His farm in Indiana was purchased in 1818, at the United States government price, as is shown by his old land patent which is still treasured by one of his descendants.⁶⁰ Neither his grave nor that of his father has ever been marked officially, although certain patriotic organizations make a point of placing memorial tablets on the final resting places of Revolutionary soldiers. Jesse has simply been one of the pioneer heroes who have failed of due recog-

⁶⁰ The old land grant is in the possession of Miss Myrtle Knowles of Petersburg, Ind.

dition, and who will obtain it only when their descendants gather the scattered bits of their life history together and make them known.

This sketch would be incomplete without the record of Jesse Kimball's children. The information is taken from his family Bible and from the public records of Knox, Posey and Gibson counties in Indiana. It is as follows:

Mary (Polly), born October 25, 1794; married March 5, 1822, to James Gates.

Sarah (Sally), born March 5, 1796; married November 25, 1811, to Jesse W. Kimball; married October 7, 1819 to Hullum Jones.

Elisha, born March 6, 1798; married June 21, 1821, to Mary (Polly) Boyle.

Amy, born February 3, 1799; died young.

Marget, born February 7, 1800; died young.

Esther, born October 15, 1802; married March 18, 1819, to Samuel Miller.

Isaac, born April 19, 1804; married November 10, 1825, to Phyllis Low.

Enoch, born May 15, 1806; married September 18, 1828, to Sarah (Sally) Boyle.

Cynthia, born April 1, 1809; married October 20, 1825, to Ephraim Knowles.

Mahalah, born March 3, 1812; married February 22, 1832, to William L. Burton; married in 1847 to Andrew Baird.

Historical News

By THE INDIANA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

The third annual history conference, under the auspices of the society of Indiana Pioneers, the Indiana Historical society, and the Historical commission, was held on December 9th and 10th, 1921, in the Claypool hotel. This conference on Indiana history which is rapidly taking on the nature of a clearing house for state history, was attended this year by more than two hundred people—the actual registration showed one hundred and seventy. Forty-six counties in the state were represented. From the standpoint of interest and attendance, the conference was by far the most successful of the three that have been held.

The Friday afternoon program was given over chiefly to a discussion of county centennial plans. Those participating in the discussion included Prof. Harlow Lindley, Lucy M. Elliott, Herriott C. Palmer, Mrs. H. C. Robinson, Clarence H. Smith, Miles S. Cox and Eliza G. Browning.

At the Friday evening session ex-Governor Samuel M. Ralston read an interesting paper on Jonathan Jennings, the First Governor of Indiana.

At the Saturday forenoon session, the following papers were read: The Local Library—A Center for Historical Material, by William J. Hamilton, secretary Indiana Public Library commission; Kinds of Material to be Preserved for Historical Purposes, by Esther U. McNitt; The Value and Importance of Historical Markers, by Colonel Robert L. Moorhead, and The Writing of Family Histories, by Edgar T. Forsyth.

At the Saturday afternoon session the following papers were read: Indiana's Part in General Butler's Expedition to New Orleans, by Rufus Dooley, Rockville; Local Pioneer History as Seen Through Local Pioneer Laws, by George R. Wilson; The Possibilities of Historical Pilgrimages: (1) The Society of Indiana Pioneers, by Amos W. Butler; (2) Local Organizations, by Ben F. Stuart, Burnetts Creek, and Creole Customs in Old Vincennes, by Miss Anna C. O'Flynn, Vincennes.

The annual dinner of the society of Indiana Pioneers was held on Saturday evening. A talk on Some Old-Fashioned Indiana Writers, by Mrs. Demarchus C. Brown, and the singing of the songs of days long gone, were the chief features of the pioneer dinner program.

A committee was appointed to arrange for the Fourth annual conference on December 10th and 11th, 1922. These annual conferences on Indiana history are becoming a feature in promoting a keener interest in our state's history. They bring together the four leading organizations in Indiana that are primarily interested in state history, namely, society of Indiana Pioneers, Indiana historical society, Indiana historical commission, and the history teachers section of the Indiana State Teacher's association.

The Henry County historical society has the distinction of being the first local historical society in the state to take advantage of the special act approved March 10, 1921, enabling the board of county commissioners to employ a curator to look after the work of the local historical society. Clarence H. Smith of Newcastle has been named as its curator. Mr. Smith has entered upon his work and is devoting his time now to classifying the collection of books, papers and relics that are in the possession of the society.

The growing interest on the part of the reading public in Indiana history is strikingly illustrated by the space now devoted to this subject by the leading newspapers of the state. For several months, Kate Milner Rabb, through her daily column in the Indianapolis *Star* under the caption, The Hoosier Listening Post has done much toward arousing a greater interest in the study of pioneer history, and in the preservation of old time songs, stories and historical incidents that meant so much in the early life of the state. Down in the southwestern part of the state, the weekly appearance of the Pocket Periscope in the Evansville *Courier*, edited by Thomas James de la Hunt, has enlisted a large school of historical students and readers in the study of southern Indiana and Ohio river history. Up in the northeastern part of the state, frequent articles contributed by B. J. Griswold of Fort Wayne, in the Fort Wayne *Journal-Gazette*, find a large number of readers. The most

recent contributor in the school of historical news writers, is George S. Cottman. Since early in November, 1921, Mr. Cottman has been contributing weekly articles to the Indianapolis *News* under the caption Bits from Indiana History. No person in the state is better qualified to ferret out and relate early historical incidents.

The annual election of the Allen County historical society, held November 6, 1921, resulted in the election of Bert J. Griswold as president; Ross L. Lockridge, vice-president; Mrs. J. B. Crankshaw, secretary and treasurer. Page W. Yarnelle, Mrs. A. J. Detzer, Dr. Charles R. Dryer, and Jacob M. Stouder were elected to membership on the board of directors. At the annual meeting a program consisting of historical papers and readings was given as follows: Happy Kekiongo, Mrs. Arthur Twining; The French and British Struggle, Luther Meyer; Fort Wayne and the Revolution, Mrs. H. A. Thomas; Little Turtle, Robert P. Cordiner; Mad Anthony Wayne, J. H. Chapel, and The Wabash-Erie Canal, G. H. Russell.

The history of Hancock county in the World war, compiled by George J. Richman of Greenfield, together with a manuscript history of Clinton county in the World war, have recently been filed with the collection of State war records now being compiled by the Indiana historical commission. The Hancock county history is the first war history to be published under the provisions of an act passed during the 1921 session of the state legislature.

A paper on the railroad wreck of October 31, 1864, by Alva O. Reser, of Lafayette, was recently prepared and filed in the Indiana State library. This disaster, the worst of its kind that had occurred in the railroad history of the United States up to that date, attracted nation wide attention, due to the fact that the train was carrying Union soldiers from Iowa and Illinois, who were going home on a furlough, many of them to vote in the elections of 1864. Thirty men were killed outright. The wreck occurred about eight miles east of Lafayette.

The oldest church in Orange county and perhaps the oldest building in the county, a landmark cherished through the passing century, will soon take its place in the records of the past, as this historic edifice,

formerly the property of the Society of Friends, and known as the Lick creek meeting house, has been sold and is now being torn down.

This house of worship, the first Protestant church in this part of the country, was built early in 1813. In the latter part of the year 1812, a group of Quaker pioneers came here from North Carolina. Legends have been handed down telling of the devotion of these settlers to their religious beliefs, and recording that the log meeting house was completed before any of the homes were erected. The Friends lived in their "schooners" or in rude shelters until the church building was completed. * * *

The history of the church is inseparably entwined with the history of the county. It was this group of settlers who came from Orange county, Carolina, who gave to the county its name. Also, to one of the leaders of these Quaker pioneers, Jonathan Lindley, who was appointed first county agent, belongs the honor of laying out and naming the county seat, Paoli. This was done in 1816.

A number of widely known women preachers among the Quakers of early days came from this congregation. Among them was Amy Moore, who was known throughout southern Indiana for her missionary zeal. Another woman, praised for her evangelistic work in early times, was Eleanor Chambers, who grew up in this church and began her work here.

Famous underground stations during Civil war days also were found in this community, and many fugitive slaves found their way in safety to the north through the efforts of the Lick creek Quakers.

—Indianapolis News, January 20, 1922.

November 12, 1921, the Orange County historical society was organized in Paoli. The following officers were elected: Alfred W. Bruner, Paoli, president; L. C. Ralston, Orleans, vice-president; Anna Maris, Paoli, secretary, and Will Cave, French Lick, treasurer. The first regular meeting of the society was held in the courthouse, Paoli, November 19, at which meeting a constitution was adopted, and forty-four charter members were voted into the society. Papers and talks were given by Miss Jennie Throop, Miss Mary Shirley, Senator Oscar Ratts, Wilbur Brooks, J. A. McCoy, Aaron Maris, Miss Ferguson and Jesse M. Trinkle on various subjects pertaining to Orange county's history. The next regular meeting of the society was held February 2, 1922, the 106th anniversary of the organization of Orange county. To the credit of Orange county it is the first of the county historical societies to observe the clause in their constitution which provides for filing duplicates of all papers read at their regular meetings with

the Indiana historical commission. Already the historical commission has received a copy of two valuable papers read at the February meeting. The first of these is by the president, Alfred W. Bruner, on Early Trails and Indian Treaties, while the second is by Jesse Trinkle, entitled A Brief History of Public Buildings of Orange County, as shown by the records of the Board of County Commissioners of Orange County, 1816-1916. If the other local societies in the state would follow the precedent set by the Orange county society, there can be collected in one central place,—the Indiana state library,—a priceless collection of papers on local history such as has never yet been assembled in the state.

The Washington County historical society seems to be showing greater signs of activity than any other local society in the state. Under the leadership of Mrs. Harvey Morris, its president, the society has been reorganized under the township plan, a chairman being selected for each township. As an indication of the success of this plan, P. H. Gill, chairman of Polk township, reported at the November and December meetings of the society, one hundred and six new members together with a collection of numerous and valuable old relics. Other townships were represented at the December meeting by the different chairmen of each and reported many new accessions to the society, as well as many contributions to its museum. This society has its home in the courthouse at Salem, and has already in its collection many articles of historical value.

In the organization of the Randolph County historical society much credit will have to be given to O. H. Geist, superintendent of schools of that county. At the Randolph county teachers institute held on Saturday, November 5, a representative of the Indiana historical commission was present and urged the organization of a local society in Randolph county. As a result of the appeal, a permanent organization was formed with Philip Kabel as president; O. H. Geist, vice-president; and Judge A. L. Bales, secretary and treasurer. Plans for a further organization will be perfected by Mr. Kabel which means success for the work of this society in the future.

Many important events have taken place in the old capitol building at Corydon since its erection in 1811. On Saturday, Nov. 19, in response to a call sent out by the newspapers, a representative number of people gathered beneath the roof of the old state house for the purpose of organizing a local historical society. Lucy M. Elliott, representing the Indiana historical commission, was present and urged the necessity of such an organization in Harrison county. An organization was perfected with 55 charter members and the following officers were elected for the year 1922: Miss Jennie Griffin, president; Lew M. O'Bannon, vice president; Thomas J. Wilson, secretary; and George Reuter, treasurer. A program committee was appointed to outline plans for the work of the society during the year 1922.

To Jasper county belongs the credit of organizing the first local historical society in Indiana in 1922. January 10 a meeting was held at the home of Mrs. John I. Gwin, of Rensselaer. A representative of the historical commission had been invited to be present and explain the necessity of such an organization, and the plans of the state for cooperation with local societies. The following officers were elected: C. R. Dean, city superintendent of schools, president; Mrs. Charles W. Hanley, vice president; L. H. Hamilton, secretary; and Mrs. Mary E. Drake, treasurer. Various other committees were appointed, and plans made for the compilation of the Jasper county war history.

The month of December, 1921, recorded the organization of the Crawford county historical society at English. The following persons were elected to office: H. H. Pleasant, president; Arthur H. Flanigan, vice president; Miss Lou Thornbury, secretary and treasurer. Mr. Pleasant is county superintendent of schools, and is writing a history of Crawford county that will soon be published in book form. This history will contain also a history of the World war activities in Crawford county. One of the immediate projects of the society, is the purchase of five acres of ground near English, on which is located the monument in honor of William H. English, for a city park. With two such undertakings in

mind, it can be safely said that Crawford county has work ahead of it.

November 19, 1921, a committee composed of members of the Indiana historical society, called a meeting and organized a Carroll county historical society. John C. Odell, local historian, was chosen chairman. The first regular meeting of the society was held on Saturday, December 31, 1921, at the public library in Delphi. A representative of the historical commission was present and outlined the plans of the state for the year 1922. According to the constitution of the society, the annual election of officers takes place on December 31, and the following officers were elected: William C. Smith, president; John C. Odell, vice president; Mrs. Charles Buckley, secretary and treasurer; directors, Ben F. Stuart, Mrs. W. A. Breining, Mrs. Henry Wilson, William Gros, and Mrs. Thaddeus Guthrie; committee on township history, Mrs. Charles Buckley, Mrs. N. W. Bowen and Ben F. Stuart; committee on membership, Mrs. W. H. Robinson, Mrs. Mae Sibbitt and Mrs. Harry Arnold. The second regular meeting of the society was held January 21. The following program consisting of ten minute talks was given: The Beginning of Commercialism in Carroll County, Ben F. Stuart; The Best Way to Obtain the Early History of Carroll County, Charles Buckley; Who Were the Most Noted Pioneer Men and Women of Carroll County, M. Sterling and John C. Odell; The Indian Reservations in Carroll County, Date of Grant and Location, Amount of Land, and Their Passing of Title with Consent of Government, Harry Arnold.

Armistice day, November 11, 1921, was generally celebrated throughout the state of Indiana by programs, patriotic and social in nature. No more beautiful or appropriate program was given in the state than the celebration of this event in Evansville. The program consisted first of a parade in which marched the soldiers of three wars, the Service Star legion, Labor Union members, civic organizations, and representatives of every walk of life, the number of marchers estimated from 5,000 to 7,000; and a pageant immediately following the parade given in the Coliseum. Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon was the author of the pageant, and Mrs. E. A. Torrance,

the director. The subject of the pageant was Disarmament, and was written for the express purpose of showing the horrors of war and the blessings of peace. The theme of the first act was war, accompanied by the attending spirits of death and famine; and the theme of the second act peace, enthroned on the earth surrounded by smiling nations and happy flower-laden children. The concluding song, Peace to the Nations, emphasized the central theme of the pageant, Disarmament of Nations to insure permanent peace. It was an all Evansville pageant and reflected great credit upon its author and those supporting her in its production. The crowd seeing the pageant and parade was estimated at fifteen thousand.

When driving "Ade-Way" in Newton county, do not forget to stop at the sign of the "Open Door Museum and Home of the Round Table Club" located at Goodland, Indiana; and while visiting this museum do not miss hearing the story of its founding from the lips of the man who has spent thirty-six years in its up-building for the benefit of the boys and girls of Goodland. A. D. Babcock, sole founder and owner, will tell you that several years ago he came to the conclusion that "one could amuse himself at home." Selecting as his source of amusement the gradual development of an historical collection of articles of rare value, he today can boast of having the best collection of historical relics in northwestern Indiana. Mr. Babcock does not confine his efforts to Indiana alone, but has in this collection relics of historical value from Africa, Asia and Europe. Already the museum building is too small. Plans are under way for its enlargement, after which he hopes to invite all of the noted orators of the United States to speak before the Round Table Club and in this way put Goodland, as he says, on the map as a cultural center. Should this project reach the proportions outlined by Mr. Babcock, Newton county will be noted for two national attractions, George Ade, the humorist, and the "Open Door Museum" of Goodland. Mr. Babcock is also the author of a volume of verse, "The Silver Oar."

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Crawford County

By H. H. PLEASANT, A. M.

Crawford county, one of the smallest and poorest counties of Indiana, lies nestled among the hills of southern Indiana. The territory out of which the county was formed originally belonged to Harrison, Orange and Perry. The General Assembly of Indiana enacted a law during the session of 1817-1818 which provided for the new county. Governor Jonathan Jennings signed the bill on January 29, 1818. Much credit is due Senator Dennis Pennington of Harrison county, who introduced several petitions sent to him by Martin H. Tucker and other citizens praying for the formation of a new county. The bill was introduced January 1, 1818 and passed January 5, 1818.¹

The boundaries of the county were not definitely established until 1831, since when it has had the following: Beginning at Big Blue river and following the river with its meandering until it reaches the line dividing section 26 from section 27 in township three south, range two east, thence north along that line till it intersects the river, thence following the river to the Washington county line, thence west to the Orange county line, thence south two miles, thence west twenty miles, thence south nine miles, thence east six miles, thence south four miles, thence east six miles, thence south to the Ohio river, thence following the river and its meanderings to the mouth of Big Blue river.²

¹*Senate Journal* 1817-1818, pages 74, 81, 84, 88, 90 and 196.

²*Laws of 1837*, 239. This boundary was fixed by law February 10 1831.

On different occasions citizens of Perry and Harrison counties petitioned the General Assembly to be allowed to unite certain parts of these counties to Crawford, but most of the petitions have been rejected.³

Crawford county was named in honor of William H. Crawford of Georgia, cabinet officer and politician, who was a candidate for the presidency in 1824. The county contains about 300 square miles. When it was organized in 1818 the land was heavily forested. There were not much more than two acres of swamp land in the whole county. The uplands were covered with oak, hickory, gum, beech, poplar and walnut while the creek bottoms were covered with sugar, elm, and sycamore. As a hunting ground the county was not surpassed by any in the state, while the streams of Big Blue, Little Blue, Turkey Fork, and West Fork were the very best for fishing. The White Sulphur well at Sulphur, Indiana, is unsurpassed by any spring of mineral water in the country. The Marengo and Wyandotte caves are considered by some the most beautiful in the world.

When the county was organized in 1818 many settlers had already located in it. Just how many squatters were in Crawford county then one cannot say now but there must have been a large number. In wandering through the woods, now, one occasionally finds a pile of stones and the evidence of some early home. Many old fruit trees, some still living and others dead, are found scattered here and there in the forests. This indicates that the spot of land was at one time the seat of some squatter's home. The five original townships into which the county was first divided were Jennings, Ohio, Sterling, Patoka, and Whiskey Run.

Jennings was named after Governor Jennings, Ohio lies on the Ohio river from which it takes its name, Sterling was named, no doubt, after Mount Sterling, a city in Montgomery county, Kentucky, from which many of the settlers came, Patoka derives its name from the Patoka river which runs near the township. There is an Indian legend connected with the name Whiskey Run. The story goes that down on the stream one day an Indian named "Whiskey" killed a man named "Run" who had a jug of whiskey with him. Then he

³ *House Journal* 1821, 198; 1834, 94, 173, 327, 584.

ran away with Run's whiskey. So the pioneers generally spoke of that stream as Whiskey Run. One may take the legend for what it is worth.⁴

After the original organization of the county four new townships were formed. The boundaries of the old townships were changed too. In September, 1827, a large tract of land was transferred from Perry county⁵ to Crawford county out of which a new township called Union was made. Liberty township was formed out of territory taken from Sterling and Whiskey Run in December, 1842. Boone township was carved out of Ohio township on March 7, 1848. It was named after the Boones, one of whom is buried on the hill near the town of Alton. The last township organized was Johnson. This was formed about 1864.⁶ Andrew Johnson had been a war Democrat and a stanch Union man and was candidate for the vice-presidency in 1864. So the people named the township Johnson.⁷

The first county seat was named Mount Sterling probably after Mount Sterling, Kentucky, from which several of the settlers came. The town was laid out in section 33, township two south, range one east. This site is about four miles southeast of the present town of English. The site of the town was a high hill, hence the meaning of the word "Mount." Birney Labruk made the plat of the town.⁸ Thomas W. Aubrey, who was probably the first justice of peace in the county states that Birney Labruk came before him January 25, 1818, and acknowledged that plat to be the true plat of Mount Sterling. Brice Patrick, who was the county agent, brought the plat to the recorder's office and William Samuels recorded it November 11, 1818, the drawing of which one may see in the first book in the recorder's office on pages 2 and 3. A copy of the plat is submitted in the present writing.

The town was located on the northeast quarter of section 33. The streets ran north and south and east and west. The streets running north and south were Carr, Biddle, Dock, Samuel, Hall, and Totton. They were sixty-five feet wide.

⁴ Legend given by J. M. Johnson of Marengo, Ind.

⁵ *Laws of 1827*. Commissioner's records Sept. 3, 1827.

⁶ Commissioner's records, Book 3.

⁷ *State Supt. Report 1864*, under Crawford county.

⁸ Recorder's Book 1, pages 3-4.

Those streets running east and west were Main, Market, and Water⁹ streets. Only a few houses were ever built in Mount Sterling. The county clerk's records show that James Brasher lived there and at his home the August and December terms of court were held in 1818. A few old apple trees of the Horse apple variety were still standing in 1900. In that year Henry Batman cleaned up and cultivated the old field which had grown up in brambles years ago. He said the old apple trees were still living after about 82 years.¹⁰

One reason why the town never grew was the scarcity of water. It was situated on a level plateau on the top of a very high hill where water could not be easily obtained. After the county seat was moved to Fredonia a law was enacted forbidding it "to be located in any other place unless a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome water was available."¹¹

Henry Green bought land, August 1, 1812, located in section 34, township 2 south, range 2 east.¹² Judge Green, who was born in Ireland, was honored by being elected judge of Crawford county. When Davis Floyd visited Crawford county in 1818 to organize the first court Judge Green and James Glenn were present to help him. These men were associate justices at the trial of Ouley which will be described later. Green was elected to represent Crawford county in the General Assembly of Indiana in 1821.¹³ He introduced petitions sent to him by James Glenn and others praying that a commission be appointed to relocate the county seat of Crawford county. These petitions were referred to a select committee composed of Green of Crawford county, Charles Dewey of Orange, Alexander Wallace of Orange, and Moses Kirkpatrick of Floyd. After the committee had duly considered the matter, Green reported a bill providing for the appointment of a board of commissioners to select a permanent site for a county seat. The bill having been passed the governor signed it on December 22, 1821.¹⁴ Besides being a legislator, he was appointed supervisor on the "Governor's

⁹ From old plat in Recorder's office.

¹⁰ This information was furnished by J. E. Turley of English who was born and reared near the old site.

¹¹ *Indiana Laws of 1827*, page 86.

¹² Sale Date Book Recorder's office.

¹³ Information furnished partly by Squire Henry Green, Marengo, Ind.

¹⁴ *Indiana House Journal 1821*, 96, 236, 265.

Old Trail" as far west as the state road running from what is now Marengo to Leavenworth.¹⁵ He was justice of peace for many years and left a well earned reputation. The date of his death is unknown. His grandson, Henry Green, of Marengo, still holds the office of justice of peace.

No farms were sold in 1813 in what is now Crawford county. The war was on then and immigration to the west was somewhat retarded. In 1814 the following men bought farms: Alex Barnet, James Totten, Henry Fullenwider, William McKay, Andrew and Joseph Kinkaid, Moses Smith and Robert Fields.¹⁶ Of these, Henry Fullenwider is probably best noted. He was a leading citizen around Alton for many years. His descendants live in Boone township and the Fullenwider school was named after him. He was one of the trustees for district No. 4 when the congressional township 4 south, range 1 east was divided up by the township school trustees in August, 1837.¹⁷ He lived to a ripe old age.

The names of the men who bought farms in 1815 were John Hastings, John Green, Robert and Isaac Sands. All these men proved good substantial citizens. Isaac Sands was elected to represent Crawford county in the General Assembly in 1836, and had been treasurer of the county in 1830.¹⁸ Later he represented Crawford and Orange counties in the senate of the General Assembly in 1841 for a term of three years.¹⁹

In 1816 the following men came into the county and bought farms at the land office at Jeffersonville: Michael Harvey, James McIntosh, Abram Sheckles, William Sharp, Eli Wright, Riggs Pennington, George Repley and Robert Yates.

Robert Yates was one of the most noted men of the above group. Governor Jennings appointed him county commissioner in 1818. He was selected by Sheriff Weathers to be a member of the first grand jury ever held in Crawford county. This grand jury which met at James Brasher's home in Mount Sterling returned the indictment against James Ouley for

¹⁵ Commissioner's Records May 5, 1827.

¹⁶ The date book contains the names of all land buyers and dates of purchases. Recorder's office.

¹⁷ Old synopsis book of Ohio township, August 23, 1837.

¹⁸ Commissioner's Records July 5, 1830.

¹⁹ Indiana Senate Journal 1840, page 1-5.

murder of Briley. Mr. Yates was also supervisor on the county roads for several years.²⁰

The list of men who bought farms in 1817 was much longer. The following names were the more important: George Jones, Henry Richards, Martin Scott, John Flannery, John Sturgeon, John Sands, Robert Scott, James Green, Daniel Weathers, and Archibald Allen. These men were hardy pioneers, and patriotic men.

Martin Scotts' farm was located in Jennings township about four miles north of Leavenworth on the Old Salem and Leavenworth road. Many of his descendants live in the county at the present writing. His grandson, Martin Scott, was elected trustee of Jennings township in 1894 over John W. Collins on the Democratic ticket by a majority of 7 votes. The original Martin Scott was one of the grand jurors from Jennings township in 1818, when the murder case already referred to was under consideration. He was also foreman of the grand jury of the December term of court in 1818, held at Mount Sterling. He was road supervisor for many years as well as lister of Jennings township. Mr. Scott seems to have displayed at times a very bad temper. The records of the county show that he was fined \$1.00 in May, 1829, for swearing.²⁰ He was buried in the "Old Scott Graveyard" on what, at the present writing, is the Aniel Froman farm.

Daniel Weathers and his brother Richard were born in Wales. They moved to Virginia and from there to Tennessee. Daniel Weathers lived in Tennessee in 1800 and cast his vote for Adams for the presidency that year. Richard, who lived at Knoxville, cast his vote there for Adams. While in Tennessee Richard Weathers married a southern girl and later moved to Indiana. Neither one of the brothers liked slavery. They crossed the Ohio river at Tobacco Landing by means of a raft which they pushed by a long pole. Richard settled just east of Milltown in Harrison county on what is now known as the McCutcheon farm and lived in a three sided log cabin.²¹

²⁰ Recorder's office Book 1 or A, index.

²⁰ Commissioner's records May 1829, Book 1824-1834.

²¹ Data given by Atty. J. H. Weathers, of Marengo, Indiana, grandson of Richard Weathers.

While hunting one day he crossed the Big Blue river near where Milltown now stands and came over into Crawford county. The scenery charmed him so much that he decided to re-move to Crawford county. So he moved to where Marengo now is and squatted on what is now, at this writing, Lyman Jones' farm. Here he worked for 25 cents a day until he had \$75.00 which he hoped to apply on a farm when he purchased one. One night his purse fell through the puncheon floor and a cow managed to get it some way. The money, most of which was paper, was chewed up by the cow when Richard Weather found his purse the next morning. So Mr. Weathers did not buy a farm then but sold out his claim and squatted again where Dave Apple's farm now is. Meanwhile Daniel Weathers had been more fortunate and had bought the farm mentioned above. Richard Weathers did not purchase a farm till 1825.²²

After the law was passed providing for the formation of Crawford county in 1818, Governor Jennings appointed Daniel Weathers sheriff and issued him a commission Sept. 8, 1818. The bond of Sheriff Weathers is here given:

Know all men by these presents; that we, Daniel Weathers, James Barker, John Smith, Robert Yates, Thomas Roberts, Riggs Pennington, and Richard Weathers are held bound to Governor Jennings and his successors in office for the sum of \$5000.00 for which payment we jointly and severally promise to pay to Governor Jennings and his successors in office, provided however that if Daniel Weathers discharges his duties according to law, the above obligations are null and void.

For the state
James Barker

William Samuels
Recorder of
Crawford Co.

For Weathers
Daniel Weathers
Richard Weathers
Riggs Pennington
Thomas Roberts
Robert Yates
John Smith
James Barker²³

Daniel Weathers performed his duty faithfully till he was relieved from office about 1822. These two Weathers reared families, several of whose sons served their country in the Civil War. Major William V. Weathers, Captain Enoch

²² Most of the data given here was furnished by Atty. James Weathers, a grandson of Richard Weathers, Marengo, Ind.

²³ Weathers' Bond—Book A page 5 Recorder's office.

Weathers, James M. Weathers, Andrew E. Weathers and James Weathers have remarkable war records. When Captain Hines of Bowling Green, Kentucky, made his daring raid into Crawford county in 1863, he talked with Captain Enoch Weathers at Marengo. Major Weathers at the present writing is living at Marengo. Last but not least is Attorney John Henry Weathers of New Albany. He was the son of James Weathers who died at Marengo about 1918. John H. Weathers practiced law at Leavenworth many years. In 1896 he was nominated for judge of the circuit court in the district composed of Harrison and Crawford counties. He lost the election by 52 votes. Both counties were Democratic then and usually polled a Democratic majority of 800 votes.

The names of the persons who bought farms in Crawford county in 1818 were: Malachi Monk, George Wyman, Moses Smith, Thomas Easley, George Wilks, Chas. Springer, Elisha Tadlock, Elisha Totten, Peter Funk, Sam Westfall, Abram Wiseman, Cornelius Hall, John Lee, Jacob Conrad, Elizabeth Wright and Peter Sonner.²⁴

Of the above named persons probably Cornelius Hall was the most noted man. He was appointed county commissioner by Governor Jennings in 1818, and served the county in that capacity. Mr. Hall was well read in law and at Ouley's trial he was one of the judges. Sheriff Weathers chose him as grand juror in 1818 when the circuit court was organized and held the first session at Mount Sterling. When Mr. Hall's term of office expired he became associate justice of Crawford county, an office which he held many years.

Elisha Tadlock was the first seminary trustee of Crawford county.²⁵ When the law was enacted in 1818 which provided for the office, Governor Jennings appointed him trustee. On December 18, 1821, he made a report to the General Assembly which showed that he had on hands then \$100.50 of seminary funds. He was elected to represent Crawford county in the General Assembly in 1825²⁶ He was overseer of the poor for many years in Whiskey Run township. At that time there was no poor farm and the board of county

²⁴ Old Sale date book—Recorder's office

²⁵ *Indiana House Journal* 1821, 236.

²⁶ *Indiana Journal* 1825, 1-5.

commissioners generally selected some one to look after the poor in each township. In 1825 this board allowed him \$37.50 for keeping Timothy Bennett for three months. Mr. Tadlock was collector of the state revenues in 1827. In 1828 he was licensed to keep a tavern at Leavenworth.²⁷

Moses Smith bought a farm near where English is and there reared a family. His son, Minor Smith, grew up in Sterling township and raised a family of several children, two of whom were George C. Smith and James J. Smith. The Smiths have always been good citizens and popular with the people. In 1914 George C. Smith was elected trustee by the Republicans in Patoka township, the first Republican trustee in that township for many years.

Probably one of the most popular as well as one of the best men in the county. In 1916 he was elected treasurer by the Republicans over James M. Brown by 191 votes. Two years later he was re-elected by the Republicans over James Jones by 17 votes.²⁸

Malachi Monk was one of the earliest settlers of Crawford county. He built a block house near the town of Marengo on the farm now owned by J. Ed Ross, county clerk of Crawford county 1918-1922. He served his county in various capacities. Was road supervisor for several years. The date of his death is not known. His son, Malachi Monk, junior, was elected auditor for two terms from 1868 to 1876.

Abram Wiseman located in what is now Ohio township. He and his brother, Jacob Wiseman, came from the East to Kentucky and thence to Indiana. Several of their sons were in the Civil war, among which one may mention George E., Philip, Abram, William and Henry. The grandsons of the two pioneer Wisemans served in the Spanish-American war, while in the World war a number of the Wisemans were overseas.

The last name of which the writer has space to write is Peter Funk. The Funk family has been prominent all through the history of the county. Solomon Funk and John E. Funk were old supporters of the Republican party in 1860. John E. Funk, who was elected county commissioner in 1894 helped

²⁷ Commissioner's records Nov. 5, 1825.

²⁸ Data from the *Crawford County Democrat*.

to re-locate the new county seat of justice at English in 1895, when that town was made the county seat by the courts. Cadmus C. Funk, who was the grandson of Solomon Funk, was elected sheriff of the county in 1912 over V. Byrum by a majority of 331 votes.²⁹ When his term of office expired in 1914 he was re-elected for another term of two years at the close of which term he engaged in business at English.

The names of the men who bought farms in the county in 1819 were: John Roth, Henry Richards, John Hughes, Henry Jones, John Sheckels, Jonathan Bird, William Groves, and David Rice.

The list of names of the men who bought farms in 1820 is as follows: Dave Miller, John Sheckels, Sam Kemp, John Morgan, Joseph VanWinkle, Addison Williams, and Reuben Wright. Sam Kemp's farm was located two miles west of Fredonia in section 7, town 4 south, range 1 east. Mr. Kemp's son John was a noted man of the county during the Civil war. He was a member of the 49th Indiana volunteers and was wounded several times.³⁰ He lived to be a very old man and died near Leavenworth. Sam Kemp's grandson, Clay Kemp, lives at Alton at the time of the present writing.

Much can be said about Addison Williams whose farm was located in section 14, town 3 south, range 1 east. He platted a town which he called New Haven and had the plat recorded at the county seat in Fredonia. No one bought the town lots and the town never grew. He lived on his farm many years and was justice of peace for some time. He was road supervisor in Jennings township for many years.³¹ His grave may be seen today on the old farm near the present town of Magnolia. In those days men had their own local cemeteries, many of which may still be seen scattered over the county. Addison Williams, being disappointed because his first town, New Haven, never grew, platted another town which he named Magnolia. The plat was recorded on July 4, 1838.³² This town which was situated about four miles northwest of Leavenworth, was located in section 22, town 3 south, range 1 east. Many town lots were sold, a large mill

²⁹ County papers for vote.

³⁰ See *Terrell's Reports*, Regiment 49.

³¹ County Recorder's old record. See A. Williams.

³² Deed Book 2, Page 351.

was built, and a still house constructed. The old buhrstones may still be seen where his mill was built. Magnolia never grew to any considerable size. Today it has several houses, a store, and a postoffice.

In 1821 these men bought farms: James Brown, James McMartin, Robert Samuels, Richard White, Hamilton McKee, ————— Gwartney, Ed Sturgeon, William Riley, Lawrence Biers, John Vanmeter, Archibold Stone, John Condra, Mason Jenkins, Ab. Wiseman, B. Bogard, Joel Lyons, Richard White, James Mansfield, Jackson Nicholson, James Totten, Abram Bird, John Goldman, David Lowe, Burton Parr, Abram Sheckels, and George Wilks.

The Mansfield family lived at Leavenworth for a long time. James M. Mansfield who was the son of James Mansfield was a soldier in the Civil war. He was elected clerk of Crawford county in 1866 and held the office one term. The school at Mansfield was named after him.

Abram Sheckels bought a farm in town 4 south, range 1 east. Many of his great grandchildren still live in Boone township at the present writing. He is the grandfather of Oliver Morton Sheckels, superintendent of the city schools at Brownstown.

Burton Parr became a very useful citizen of the county. One of his descendants, E. E. Parr, was elected trustee of Boone township in 1914. At the close of his term of office he was re-elected. John Parr, another one of his relatives, was elected trustee of Boone township in 1900.

James Totten was appointed sheriff of Crawford county in 1825. At that time the office of sheriff was very difficult to fill. Many of his descendants live in the county at the present writing.³³

These men bought farms in 1822: Julius Woodford, Peter Frakes,, David Brown, Obadiah Childs, Jacob Conrad, Wilson Scott, Sam McMahan, R. S. Thom, Reuben T. Thom, Thomas Conon, and Ebenezer E. Morgan.

This list has the names of the Thom brothers: Reuben T. and Robert S. Something will be said about the Thom brothers in the chapter on Fredonia.

³³ Commissioners Records, May 1825.

Julius Woodford for many years was one of the leading citizens of Crawford county. He was elected county commissioner from the second district in 1833 to succeed Zebulum Leavenworth.³⁴ He was one of the first merchants of Leavenworth. In 1825 he was granted a license to sell foreign merchandise in the town. He sold the lot of ground to the Crawford county seminary trustees in 1835 on which the old seminary was built.

E. E. Morgan held the office of county recorder from 1825 till 1846.

In 1823 there were two men who bought farms: John Austin and William Patton.

The list in 1824 was: John R. Wyman, Henry Rhodes, David Wilbur, Edward Riddings.

For 1825 these men bought land: David Beals, Richard Weathers, John Weathers, John Mahon, Robert Baldwin, Joseph Beals, Adam Denison, Walter Gresham, John Funk, Will Stroud, Thomas Walker, James Totten.

In this group there are several names about which mention should be made. Joseph Beals was the grandfather of Stewart A. Beals who was elected county superintendent in 1903. The latter held that office for 14 years, during which he did more for the schools of Crawford county than any superintendent who held the office before him. It was through his efforts that the high schools at Leavenworth, English, Marengo, and Milltown were commissioned. At the present writing he is superintendent of the English high school.

The list of those who bought farms in 1826 were: Henry Bray, Sam Scott, William Good, R. T. Thom, D. Gresham.

1827: John Peckinpugh, David Lane, Charles Springer, William Riley, David Attleberry, Robert Milesat, Dudley Gresham, James Totten, Reuben T. Thom, William Bland, Francis Able, Thomas Parr, Milton Holcroft, O. Raymong, Julius Woodford, Thomas Davidson, Samuel Bird, W. P. Thompson, Edward Butler, William Taylor, James Stuart, Isaiah Bullington.

No farms were sold in 1828. The list for 1829 has these names: John Leggett, J. H. Mills, Seth and Z. Leavenworth,

³⁴ Commissioners Records, Sept. 1833.

Wood Proctor, Librim Frisbie, James Totten, John Lynch, and Thomas Davidson.

In 1830 these men bought farms: Chas. Bloomfield, Elias Chenoweth, Joseph VanWinkle, Abram D. Tower and Isaac Funk.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST COURT

The first session of the circuit court of Crawford county convened at Mount Sterling, August 1, 1818. Hon. Davis Floyd, Judge Green, and James Glenn composed the court. Since there was no courthouse in Mount Sterling then, James Brasher let the judges use his new log house. This house was too small to accommodate all of the jurors, hence they sat around on logs in the yard.

Sheriff Daniel Weathers was present and returned the names of the following men for a grand jury: Cornelius Hall, Lazarus Stewart, Alex King, William Osborn, James Lewis, Elias Davis, Elisha Potter, Alex Barnett, William Potter, Robert Yates, Peter Peckinpough, William Scott, Reuben Laswell, Abraham Wiseman, George Tutter, Martin Scott, John Sturgeon, Robert Sands, Isaac Lamp, Ed Gobin, and Malachi Monk.¹

These men elected Cornelius Hall foreman. After due consideration the jury returned a bill against James Ouley for murder in the first degree. The evidence showed that Ouley had followed William Briley through the woods for some distance and had then shot him in the back about where his suspenders crossed.

The ball came out in his neck making a wound about 8 inches deep. Briley died almost instantly and Ouley escaped with his horse and about 75 cents in money.

Briley lived near the present town of English. He had left home with a sack of wool and was going to Corydon to get the wool carded. He was traveling on the Governor's Old Trail which ran from Corydon to Vincennes. The exact spot where the shooting occurred cannot now be located. It happened near the top of White Oak hill in what was then Whiskey Run township.²

¹ Old Court Records in the Clerk's Office, Book 1, English, Indiana.

² This information was furnished by Attorney James H. Weathers of Marengo.

This act occurred July 1, 1818. Some men happened by and found Briley. They started to carry him to his cabin over on Dog creek. After they had gone about two miles they decided that they would bury him there. So a grave was dug and the body was buried just as the men had found it. Briley had no person living with him and Ouley might have escaped if he had hidden the body.

The news spread rapidly and the whole community was aroused. The only evidence then against Ouley was that he had disappeared from home that same day on which the man Briley was killed and that some woman had seen him following Briley through the woods.

Jonathan Chambers and Zedekiah Lindley who were prominent men volunteered to catch Ouley. These men had no warrant for his arrest but they were experts in catching horse thieves and felt sure that they could catch Ouley if he could be found anywhere. So they traveled all over southern Indiana but did not find him. They then crossed the Ohio river near Mauckport and began hunting for him in Meade county, Kentucky. After a two weeks' tramp they came to the town of Brandenburg and decided to give up the hunt and let him go. While stopping at the tavern one day they saw men hauling cord wood into town. From these men they learned that there was a wood cutter out in the forest who had come there from Corydon a short time before. That night Chambers and Lindley crept up and caught Ouley in his cabin. They brought him back to the old block house near Marengo and chained him to the logs in the house and guarded him day and night till the trial came off on the first day of August.

The bill returned by the grand jury read:

James Ouley late of Crawford county, a yeoman not having the fear of God before his eyes, but moved and seduced by the spirit of the Devil on July 1, 1818, with force and arms in Whiskey Run township in and upon William Briley in the peace of God then and there being wilful and of malice aforethought did make and against James Ouley with a certain rifle gun of the value of \$10 loaded with gun powder and a certain leaden bullet with which gun the said Ouley did shoot William Briley in the back and the ball came out in his neck making a wound about 8 inches deep from which wound Briley died almost instantly.³

³ Old Records in the Clerk's Office, Book 1.

The trial began at once. Ouley pleaded not guilty and demanded that the county furnish him an attorney. The court appointed Henry Stephens and Harbin Moore to defend while William Thompson was appointed prosecuting attorney for that session of the court.

Daniel Weathers, the sheriff, had a large number of men present from which these men were selected for a petit jury: Elisha Lane, Constance Williams, Marcus Troelock, Joseph Beals, Andrew Troelock, David Beals, John Goldman, James Richie, William May, George Peckinpaugh, Thomas W. Cummins, and Robert Grimes. Constance Williams was selected foreman of the jury.

The trial was conducted out of doors in the woodyard. The jurors who were among the best men in the county were sworn to hear the evidence and to decide the case. After all the evidence was in and the court had instructed the jurors, the jury retired to consider the evidence. After some time the jury returned a verdict of guilty and placed his sentence at death.

The counsel for defense asked for a new trial on these grounds: 1. That the verdict was contrary to the state law; 2. That the evidence was not sufficient; 3. The conduct of the jurors was not proper; 4. That outsiders talked to the jurors during the trial; 5. That Elisha Lane had expressed his opinion before the trial began; 6. That one of the jurors was too much indisposed to pay the proper amount of attention that such a case demanded. The juror in question was said to have been asleep.

The court not being fully advised adjourned till the next day when it refused the defendant a new trial and asked him if he had any further reason why sentence of death should not be passed upon him. He asked the court to arrest the judgment of the jurors on these grounds: 1. That he was a wheelright made the evidence uncertain; 2. That the bill did not have the name of the state or county in it.⁴

The court overruled the argument and passed this sentence upon him:

⁴ All the statements here are taken from the clerk's records at the court house in English, Indiana.

That he should be kept in the old block house in the custody of the sheriff till October 1, 1818, when he should be taken out on the same road or on what ever new road might be laid out by that time in one half mile of Old Mount Sterling, between the hours 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. and hanged by the neck till dead.

Sheriff Weathers took the prisoner back to the block house and chained him to the logs. Men kept guard over him day and night. Yet he attempted to gnaw out. Years afterwards when the block house was torn down one could see the place where he had gnawed with his teeth on the logs of the block house.⁵

Cornelius Hall who was a carpenter, volunteered to make the casket for Ouley. On the day of execution the coffin was put into a wagon and Ouley was chained and hauled back to Mount Sterling and hanged. He was buried in the old field near the site of the hanging. His grave was marked for a long time but now no trace of it can be found. Henry Batman who cleared the old field in 1900 said that he found a spot of clay near the road about three feet by six and thought that must have been the dirt which was thrown up from the grave.⁶

There was not much direct evidence against Ouley in the case but the jury was sure that he was guilty. So they wanted to make an example of him for the rest of the outlaws who lived in the county.

After the county seat was moved to Leavenworth another affair occurred near Milltown, Indiana, for which the offending culprit was hanged at Leavenworth. James Fields, who was under the influence of alcohol, came home one night and ordered his mother to get up and get his supper. She did not arise as quickly as her son thought that she should and he drew a revolver and shot his mother through the thigh. This occurred on June 7, 1846. Mrs. Field lived till June 10th and died. The jury returned an indictment against Fields and the sheriff arrested him and lodged him in jail.⁷

The grand jury returned a bill against Fields which reads as follows:

⁵ Information by Attorney James H. Weathers who was the grandson of Richard Weathers, deputy sheriff then.

⁶ Information by James Turley of English, Indiana.

⁷ County Clerk's Records for 1846.

James G. Fields, late of Crawford county, not having the fear of God before his eyes but moved by the spirit of the Devil did with force and with a certain revolver worth about \$1 loaded with gun powder and a ball; to wit, against one, Susanah Fields in the peace of God did shoot with the said revolver and inflicted a wound from which the said Susanah Fields died on the tenth of June at his home near Milltown, Indiana.

Fields pleaded that he was not guilty in the sense in which the grand jury had indicted him. The following men were selected for a jury: A. B. Tower, James Vanwinkle, Sam McMahan, Walker Main, Swango Hadden, William Armstrong, Marmaduke McCarney, James L. Temple, James G. Sloan, Chas. Comcien, Nincom Haskens, and Gabriel Williams. After all the evidence was in and the matter was discussed the jury retired to consider the case but could not agree. So the jury was discharged on November 11, 1846. A new jury which was composed of these men was empaneled: George Jones, Oliver Hannon, John Jones, Greenberry Roberts, John Goldman, N. C. Peckinpaugh, Tich Warner, James D. Jones, William Dean, Andrew Biers, Elias O'Bannon, John K. Tyler. This jury found Fields guilty of murder in the first degree and he was sentenced to death.⁸

Judge John Lockhart called Fields before him and ordered him to be kept in the county jail at Leavenworth until December 18, 1846. On the 18th he was to be taken out and hanged by the neck till dead.

The sheriff built the gallows on the east side of Poison creek not far from where the old carding machine stood. On the day of the execution the prisoner was put on a wagon and hauled out to the gallows. Six men with guns walked before the wagon. Sheriff Samuel Clark had taken care to see that no confusion of any kind occurred or any attempt to rescue the prisoner. Clark was so excited on this occasion that when everything was ready he struck at the rope which held the trap door on which he had put Fields and missed the rope. The second time he cut the rope and let the prisoner fall. The rope broke but several men sprang forward and helped the sheriff hold up the prisoner till the sheriff tied the rope. Then he was left swinging till he was dead.

⁸ All the data here were taken from the clerk's records at the court house at English's, Indiana.

The body was buried at the foot of the gallows. Thousands of men and women were present on that occasion. The writer's father came from near Alton to see the hanging. Old men said that the opposite hill was covered with men since it afforded a good view.

FREDONIA

While Judge Floyd was holding the first session of the circuit court in Crawford county and the good citizens at Mount Sterling were hanging Ouley, a new town was laid out on the banks of the Ohio river by Allen D. Thom and Robert S. Thom. These men had moved from Virginia to Indiana and had finally located in Crawford county. Allen D. Thom made a plat of the town and filed it in the recorder's office at Corydon, Indiana, before the county seat was located at Mount Sterling. William Samuels stated that Allen D. Thom came before him personally and acknowledged the plat to be the true plat of Fredonia. The indenture was made June 22, 1818.¹

The site where the town was laid out was one of the most picturesque of all river towns. At this point the Ohio river makes a great bend in the shape of an ox-bow or a horse-shoe. Hence the bend was called the horse-shoe bend. The river sweeps far northward into Indiana and then glides away gently to the southward. Standing on the high bluff one can see as far up the river as Leavenworth and down the river to Schooner Point. The tongue of land on the Kentucky side is about three miles across in one place and probably twenty-five miles around.

From Indian Hollow to Schooner Point—a distance of 5 miles—the hill on the Indiana side is so precipitous that one cannot build a road from the top of the bluff to the river except at Fredonia where a small creek runs down to the river, up which was built a wagon road over which freight could be hauled. This bluff is about 500 feet high, many parts of which are almost perpendicular. On this high plateau Allen D. Thom and Robert S. Thom laid out the site for the town. The site, as already stated, commanded a view

¹ Deed Book: Pages 1, 2, 85, recorder's office.

of the Ohio river for many miles so that hostile Indians could not approach during the day without being seen by the people of the town. The level land extended back from the river bluff about one-half mile before the land became rough and hilly and descended to Little Blue river on the west about two miles away. The writer has copied a plat of the town and inserted it here facing this page.²

At that time any man owning land and wishing to sell could lay out a town plat, give the town some name and advertise the lots for sale. He had the plat recorded in the county recorder's office. If many lots were sold a town might grow up. In that case he could get more for his land than he could get if he sold outright. Many men bought lots at Fredonia and a town was soon started on that high hill. Plenty of good water was found by digging several deep wells. Thom's well was about 6 feet in diameter and 86 feet deep. It stands full of good water the year around. The well was walled from bottom to top, in most places with dressed stone. This indicates that much work must have been done in its construction. The other two wells were also very deep.

One serious objection to the town of Mount Sterling was the absence of good water. Creek water could not be used because of the danger from its impurity. After the county seat was moved from Mount Sterling to Fredonia the General Assembly of the state of Indiana enacted a law providing that the county seat must not be moved again under any condition unless a good supply of drinking water was available.³

Allen D. Thom had a rich brother named Reuben T. Thom. At that time he was a large land owner of the county. Of this land Allen D. Thom owned 80 acres, while his brother owned the rest which amounted to about 1468 acres. Reuben Thom as far as can be known never came to the county but remained at his home in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Reuben Thom was very desirous of having the seat of justice located at Fredonia. Fredonia had far outgrown Mount Sterling which at the best never had many houses. He felt sure that he could sell his

² Data given by an old citizen of the town.

³ *Indiana State Laws for 1827*, 86.

land better if the seat of justice was located at Fredonia. Hence he offered to give a tract of land on which a courthouse might be built and a jail located. At that time no one had the right to move the seat of justice from Mount Sterling. So James Glenn, who was a prominent citizen of the county and an associate justice, sent a petition to Henry Green, who represented the county in the General Assembly at Corydon, praying that the seat of justice be moved and that a committee be appointed to locate a new seat. This petition being read November 21, 1821, was referred to a select committee of which Green of Crawford county, Tipton of Perry county, Dewey and Wallace of Orange county, and Kirkpatrick of Floyd county, were members with permission to report by bill or otherwise. The committee reported out a bill on November 30th which came up in the house on December 2d and 7th and was passed Thursday, December 15, 1821. In the meanwhile many petitions were sent to the General Assembly praying that the bill be passed. For this reason one can say that the people in general approved of the change of the county seat. After a few days in the committee the senate passed the bill and the governor signed it. This provided that Sam Connor of Perry county, Henry Thornton of Scott, Stephens Rainey of Clark, Isaac Stewart of Floyd, and Robert Evans of Vanderburgh should be commissioners whose duty it was to meet at the courthouse in Mount Sterling on March 1, 1822, and after due examination to relocate the seat of justice if the committee thought that it was beneficial to the people of the county. The committee was to value the improvements made on the lots at Mount Sterling and the cost of digging the public well. The state was to compensate the men who had bought the lots in Mount Sterling up to the value of their improvements.⁵

The county agent was empowered to examine the courthouse at Fredonia and if he found it better than the one at Mount Sterling he should notify the commissioners who would authorize the county officers to move their books to the new location which the committee had chosen, or would choose if it had not done so yet. If the committee relocated the seat

⁵ *Indiana House Journal*, pages: 43, 44, 96, 105, 171, 200. *House Journal* for the year of 1821.

of justice the sheriff was authorized to inform the county commissioners where the new location was and when they should meet.⁵

The committee met at Mount Sterling and after due consideration decided to accept Mr. Thom's generous offer. He had agreed to give a large tract of land on which he would build the county a courthouse and a jail, all of which he was to give to the county. The deed was duly made, as promised by Mr. Thom, to the county commissioners. The deed reads:

This indenture was made the 12th day of November, 1822 between Reuben T. Thom of Fredericksburg, Virginia, by his attorney, Allen D. Thom, on the first and Thomas Davis, Cornelius Hall, and Robert Yates, county commissioners of Crawford county on the second part and their successors in office. That the said Reuben Thom by his attorney, Allen D. Thom, for and in consideration of the county seat being permanently located at Fredonia receipt whereof is hereby granted acknowledged and bargained and sold and hath granted to the county commissioners and their successors in office for the use of the county this tract of land: Beginning at the center of section 10, township 4 south, range 1 east, run south 91.5 poles, east 89.5 poles, to a certain white oak tree, north 91.5 poles, then west 89.5 poles to the starting point, in all about 50 acres.⁶

The said commissioners to have and to hold said land with all its appurtenances on the land.

Allen D. Thom had this deed recorded December 15, 1822.

The new courthouse which was a two-story brick, was about 39 feet long and 33 feet wide. The second story was used for a court room and the down stairs provided rooms for the different county offices. Reuben Thom's contractors did a good piece of work in constructing the house which is still standing. The upper story now has been cut lower and the ceiling of the first story has been raised. The building is now used by the Methodists for a church. The house has not been used for court purposes since 1843.

The old jail which was rather small was a strong one. The house was built out of hewn logs which were notched down well at the corners. Then the house was ceiled by using hewn timbers about 10 inches wide and 4 inches thick. These timbers, which were set vertically, were bolted to the logs. The floor and ceiling were similarly constructed.

⁵ *Indiana State Laws* for 1821, 9-12.

⁶ See book 1, page 94, in the recorder's office at English, Indiana.

As far as known only one person ever escaped from that old jail until it was condemned, about 1840. The man who escaped was accused of horse stealing. He secured an iron rod of some kind and burned his way out. It must have taken him a long time. After he was out the man escaped into Kentucky before the officers secured him. After that man escaped the jail was guarded of nights when there were prisoners in it waiting trial.⁷ When the board doing county business met the first time after the man escaped they ordered E. E. Morgan to have a new jail door made. This new door was to be made of hewn timbers, the first laid lengthwise, then the second set of timbers cross-wise and bolted to the first ones. Then the third set of timbers was put lengthwise and bolted to the first two sets. This made a door which was about one foot thick. The board granted to Mr. Morgan for doing the work and hanging the door the sum of \$20.⁸

The location of the jail and courthouse is marked on the accompanying plot of the town.

The sheriff was not responsible for the prisoners in these early days. The board doing county business generally appointed some man jailer and when the jail was full with prisoners the jailer had several guards to help him keep them safe till they were disposed of some way when court met. In 1827 Sam Clark, Ephraim Conrad, Elias O'Bannon, Edward Martin and Richard Boyles were allowed \$2.50 each for helping guard the jail. Henry Conrad was appointed jailer and pound master in 1831 and in 1837, respectively.⁹

When the new courthouse was ready the citizens of Fredonia went to Mount Sterling and carried away the records. Local tradition says that the books were carried away by force. The records were in Fredonia and the first session of the court was held there on March 10, 1822.¹⁰ At that time the books were put into sacks and carried on horses. If the records were carried away by force, it was only the first time; they have been carried away from each of the later county seats by force.

⁷ Information furnished the writer by Percy Allen, great grandson of the jailer, Henry Conrad.

⁸ Commissioners records for 1829, May 4th.

⁹ Commissioner's records for 1827, November.

¹⁰ Clerk's old records, Book one.

The county officers at that time were: county commissioners, Thomas Davis, Cornelius Hall and Robert Yates; county recorder, William Samuels; coroner, William Campbell; the county treasurer was appointed each year by the board doing county business. Daniel Weathers was the first sheriff and held the office till about 1823, when Martin H. Tucker was appointed.

Under the old constitution the county business in Crawford county was done by a board composed of the justices of the peace from the towns and the various townships. The county had a board of county commissioners but they did not seem to have much business to perform for the county. The board doing county business was composed of William Course, John Wood, Thomas Davis, Samuel Farrows, Henry Wakefield and Allen D. Thom. They were known as justices.¹¹

The board of justices held a meeting at the courthouse in Fredonia in November, 1824, and contracted much business for the county. The board appointed Seth M. Leavenworth and Edward Golden to lay out a road from Leavenworth to intersect the Mount Sterling road near Jake Enlow's farm. Archibald Sloan was appointed to view out a road from his farm to the farm of Richard Weathers. William Dodd who was seminary trustee reported that he had \$255.25 of the seminary funds.

When the board met in January, 1825, they appointed the following men superintendents of the 16th sections of school land in the county: Allen D. Thom, James Glenn, Peter McMichel, James McIntosh, Martin Scott, Archibald Sloan and William Anderson. Robert S. Thom was appointed county treasurer for the year 1825. Road supervisors were also appointed. Zebulum Leavenworth had charge of the Leavenworth and Salem road as far as the Jennings township line. Calburn had charge from Fredonai to the mouth of Little Blue. William Harvey was supervisor on the Leavenworth and Paoli road as far as the Jennings township line. Allen D. Thom had charge of the road from Fredonia to the Princeton ford and the Perry county line. From Cole's ford to Leavenworth William May was appointed. Valentine Sauer-

¹¹ County Commissioners' Records for November, 1824.

heber from Leavenworth to Fredonia. James Totten was appointed sheriff to succeed Martin H. Tucker who resigned¹³

The board doing county business set the following tax rates for the county for 1825:

First rate land tax per 100 acres	\$1.25
Second rate land tax for 100 acres	\$1.00

These prices were fixed in 1825 for the taverns:

Third rate land per 100 acres	\$.75
On suits of clothes each	\$.50
License to sell foreign goods	\$10
Horses, mules, or donkeys	\$3.75
Yoke of oxen over three years old	\$.25
Brass clocks	\$1.50
Silver watches	\$.50
Ferries on the Ohio river	\$5.00
Ferries on Big Blue river	\$2.00

These prices were fixed in 1825 for the taverns:

One half pint of whiskey	12 cents
One pint of whiskey	12 cents
One half pint of wine	25 cents
One pint of wine	43 cents
One half pint of peach brandy	12 cents
One pint of peach brandy	18 cents
French brandies at the same rates as wines	
Meals	25 cents
Horse feed for 24 hours	25 cents
Lodging for men	25 cents
License for taverns	\$25.00 ¹⁴

This is the first evidence one has of fixing prices.

These men were the listers for the year 1825: Jennings township, Ben Lyons; Sterling township, David H. Tucker; Whiskey Run township, James Spencer; Patoka township, John Wood; Ohio township, Henry Conrad. It was their duty to assess the property in their respective townships. They were appointed by the board doing county business. Their salaries were:

¹³ County Commissioners' Book 2, January meeting for 1825. Book not numbered by pages.

¹⁴ Commissioners' Records for Jan. 5, 1825.

John Wood, Patoka twp. -----	\$5.00
James Spencer, Whiskey Run -----	\$6.00
David H. Tucker, Sterling -----	\$7.00
Henry Conrad, Ohio twp. -----	\$6.00
Ben Lyons, Jennings -----	\$6.00 ¹⁵

The same year Thomas W. Fox was granted a license to run a tavern in Fredonia. The fee was \$20. The prices were fixed on the meals and drinks as shown above. Probably this was the first tavern licensed in the county of Crawford. The first grocery was opened in Fredonia in 1830. This was the old name for a saloon. William Curry was the proprietor. John Leggett was granted a license to keep a tavern in Fredonia in 1825. David Rice was granted a license to keep store and sell foreign merchandise the same year. In 1829 the board doing county business granted Nancy Colhson a license to sell liquor. Probably she was the first woman to sell liquor in the county.

One of the best known citizens of Crawford county was Henry Conrad. He moved from Virginia to Crawford county and settled in Fredonia about 1822. He built a two story log house and became a hotel keeper. This old house which has been weather-boarded up is still standing. After the death of Mr. Conrad in 1842 Esau McFall bought the house. During the Civil war when Captain Hines made his disastrous raid into Crawford county he stopped at Fredonia and took breakfast at Esau McFall's hotel.¹⁶ Henry Conrad was much honored by the people of the county. He was assessor of Ohio township several times and was road supervisor several years as well as overseer of the poor of Ohio township. For several years he was jailer and pound master. He died in Fredonia and was buried in the old cemetery in 1842. His son William A. Conrad ran a store in Fredonia for many years. After the Civil war he moved to Kansas and spent the last years of his life at Winfield, Kansas.

Ever since the county had been organized many people from Perry county and parts of Harrison county had wanted to join certain parts of these two counties to Crawford county. Mr. Tipton, to whom was referred the petition of John Ewing

¹⁵ Commissioners' Records for May 8, 1827.

¹⁶ The information given here was furnished by Percy A. Allen, great grandson of Henry Conrad.

and others of Perry county praying for that part of Perry county to be joined to Crawford county, reported that the prayer was unreasonable and ought not be granted. The house of representatives of Indiana concurred in the report. Not discouraged, the citizens kept on working and secured part of their desire during the next few years as the next pages will show.¹⁷

The board doing county business in 1827 transferred a large tract of land from Perry to Crawford county. The tract of land began at the meridian line south where Perry county begins then running north four miles, west six miles, south four miles, and east six miles. This tract of land was added to Ohio township. Later in the same year 1827 the board of justices made a new township which they called Union. This new township consists of the congressional township three south, range one west, and six sections of the congressional township two south, range one west.

When Robert Thom died Allen Thom married his widow. He built a large two story frame house under two giant locust trees on the edge of the river bluff. The old house remained standing till 1918 when it was torn down. Part of the old foundation may yet be seen. The old well out of which the writer has drunk is still used by the people. Allen D. Thom was justice of peace for many years and road supervisor on the Leavenworth and Princeton road. The board doing county business appointed him superintendent of the 16th section of township four south, range one east, on January 3, 1825.¹⁸ In the same year he was asked to open a road 20 feet wide from Fredonia to the mouth of Little Blue in the direction of Rome.

In 1827 there was an exciting election in Crawford county. The point at issue was whether Seth Leavenworth should be elected to the General Assembly. He was in favor of moving the county seat from Fredonia to Leavenworth. Gorry Jones contested the election and the board doing business heard the evidence. It appeared that James Coeputs, Will Hooten, David Swarens, Ephriam Mansfield and John Maxwell had cast ille gal

¹⁷ Commissioners' Records for Sept. 3, 1827. They are not numbered by pages.

¹⁸ County commissioners' records for January 3, 1825.

votes in the election at the town of Leavenworth. The board voted to seat Leavenworth by the ayes: Mesen, McMickel, Wood, Flinn, Tadlock, Blackwell, Woodford and Leavenworth. The nays were: Mesen, Rice, Thom and Suggs. It was plain to be seen that Thom did not want Leavenworth to go to the General Assembly at Indianapolis.¹⁹

In 1827 the people sent Thom to Indianapolis when the bill was before the General Assembly to build a railroad from Indianapolis to the Ohio river. Thom met the committee and made one of the greatest speeches of his life in favor of the railroad being built to Fredonia instead of Madison. When the committee voted Madison won the road by one vote.²⁰

Leavenworth who represented Crawford county in the General Assembly made a great speech in favor of railroads instead of canals. One may see the speech in full in the *Indiana Journal*, March 20, 1827. Both Thom and Seth Leavenworth lost popularity by advocating railroads. Hence the first road was built from Indianapolis to Madison. Thom was appointed postmaster in these early days. He was a tall man and wore a high top silk hat, in the crown of which he carried the letters while he was working around the town. If a man asked him about mail, he took off his hat and ran the letters and gave the man whatever were for him. Then he put the others in his hat and went about his business. The mail left Fredonia at 6:00 a. m. Wednesdays and arrived at Princeton at 6:00 p. m. Thursdays. On the return the mail left Princeton at 6:00 a. m. Thursdays and arrived at Fredonia 6:00 p. m. Fridays. Mail by way of Corydon and Bedford arrived weekly. Not many letters ever came to Fredonia so one can see why Thom carried them in his hat.²¹

Mr. Thom was a very peculiar man. He never drank any water at all and was always of a cold disposition. He would wear an overcoat while working in the harvest field.²² Thom lived to be a very old man. He died about 1867 and was buried in the cemetery at Fredonia. There is a brick for a

¹⁹ Information by Percy Allen of Fredonia.

²⁰ Information by Allen of Fredonia.

²¹ Information given by George E. Wiseman of Beechwood, who knew Thom well.

²² Information furnished by Samuel R. Bird who married into the Thom family.

head-stone at his grave. After much trouble the writer, with the assistance of Mr. Wiseman, was able to locate the grave. Mr. Thom once made a race for Congress but was defeated in the nomination. His wife died about 1875 and the estate was in the courts of Crawford county for many years till it was settled in 1918 when his grand-daughter, Mrs. Hattie Henley, was appointed administratrix for the estate.

After the county seat was located at Fredonia in 1822 business began to boom. A man named Best bought a large tract of timber which he sawed into plow beams. Mr. Best lived in Louisville and owned a large hotel in that city. He put a heavy mortgage upon the hotel to get the money to buy the saw mill which he set up at Fredonia. For a long time during the panic of 1837 and afterwards the market was not very good, hence he could not sell the plow beams from which he hoped to get the money to pay off the mortgage on the hotel. William Conrad, who ran a store in Fredonia, one day called Best into the store and asked him about the matter. Best was much discouraged and felt that he was sure to lose the hotel. Then Mr. Conrad told Best that the men were intending to close the mortgage when it became due but he was ready to help him and could loan him the money. On the day on which the mortgage became due Conrad went with Best to Louisville and paid off the mortgage. At that time he had acres of land covered with sawed plow beams. After some time the sale of timber grew better and the man paid Conrad every cent of the debt.²³ Mr. Best brought with him a man named Frye to be his head sawyer. Mr. Frye who was a Scotchman did well with the work, but his love for whiskey overcame his best judgment and he died a pauper in Fredonia. On his death bed he requested his friends to bury his chopping ax and a pint of brandy with him. This request was performed and the ax and the brandy were put in the coffin with him.²⁴

Another old settler of Fredonia was Walter Gowans, who was born in Scotland in 1767. He moved to America and located at Fredonia in 1821. When the plague of cholera was so bad in 1832 he fell a victim to that malady. His grave is one of the oldest in the county which has no marker.²⁵

²³ This information was given by Percy Allen, grandson of Mr. Conrad of Fredonia and has the old account books of that Mr. Conrad yet.

^{24, 25} This information was furnished by Percy Allen of Fredonia.

Another important industry in these days at Fredonia was tanning. Mr. Collingwood built a large tannery just out of the town and employed three men all of the time. Thousands of hides were tanned there and then shipped away on boats for the trade on the Mississippi and at New Orleans.

During all these busy days while the county seat was at Fredonia only one man was killed in that town. His name was Hoback. One night he attended a dance at the Mrs. Cummins' home. Here trouble arose between him and another man. A fight ensued in which Hoback was killed with a wooden hammer or maul. The court acquitted the defendant on the grounds of self defense.

Many amusing stories are told about William Conrad, who was justice of peace, and kept a large store in Fredonia in these early days. Saturday was the most trying day of all. On that day the country people came to town to trade. West of the town about three miles lived two large men named Wiseman. They weighed about three hundred pounds each. There were two or three Goads in the county that were about as large and as strong. A feud grew up between these parties. When they came to town on Saturdays they did their trading and put all the groceries in their wagons and then got brandy and went out under the trees to drink. A fight was sure to follow in a few minutes. Then Mr. Conrad would go out and arrest the men and bring them into the office, try and fine them 50 cents and costs. The men always paid the fines, after which he would make them shake hands and agree to be friends, give them a pint of brandy and put them into the wagon and send them home rejoicing.²⁶

On the old account books of William Conrad one often finds charged to some one: One gallon of brandy at 75 cents. Mrs. Thom's account on a certain page on which the date of 1860 is given is:

	Debit	
January 18, two sad irons	-----	\$1.00.
.. 21, one box of hair pins	-----	20 cents.
.. 22, three pounds of coffee	-----	50 cents.
.. 23, two pounds of butter	-----	40 cents.
		<hr/>
Total debit		\$2.10.

²⁶ Percy A. Allen, the grandson of Mr. William Conrad.

The first school house which was built in Fredonia was of logs. The old recitation bench is in Allen's store at Fredonia at the date of this writing. This old seat has many cuts and carved marks on it. It was made out of yellow poplar and must be about 75 years old.²⁷

LEAVENWORTH

The town of Leavenworth was named after two men who platted the town and lived there many years. Seth Marshall Leavenworth was the fifth in descent from Thomas Leavenworth, who moved from England to America in 1664 and settled at Rockbury, Connecticut, where Seth Marshall was born June 13, 1782. His early education was obtained in the grammar schools of Connecticut. Having caught the western fever he came west in 1809 and located at Cincinnati for some time. While here he studied law and taught school. After a short time he moved farther west and finally settled at what is now Leavenworth and bought a large tract of land in 1818. While living at Leavenworth he became engaged to Esther Mathers, of Cape May, New Jersey, whom he married at New Albany, Indiana, June 15, 1820.

He engaged in business in Crawford county and was very successful. He helped build a mill at Leavenworth where corn and wheat were ground and lumber sawed. In 1827 he built a mill at what is now Milltown, which for many years went by the name of Leavenworth's mill. While he owned the mills at Milltown and at Leavenworth, he was very much interested in the navigation of Big Blue river.¹ He wanted the General Assembly of Indiana to enact a law to improve Big Blue river but every bill failed to pass.² He helped to locate and open all new roads many of which ran from Leavenworth out into the state. The roads tended to direct the trade and the business into the little town of Leavenworth.

²⁷ Information from Conrad's old account books.

¹ All information was taken from the genealogy book of the Leavenworths. In the *Liberty Hall* of Cincinnati, June 19, 1811, is an advertisement by Seth M. Leavenworth for a school. The term closed June 30, and the next opened July 7. "All Sciences" were taught.—Ed.

² *Indiana House Journal* for 1827, pages 316-374. Read was twice candidate for governor. He and Leavenworth were political rivals. In a tilt before the Assembly Leavenworth usually had the advantage.—Ed.

The people soon recognized that Mr. Leavenworth was a leader so he was elected to represent Crawford county in the General Assembly at Indianapolis in 1827. One of his objects was to move the county seat from Fredonia to Leavenworth. Of course this always caused an uproar among the people of Fredonia. He introduced several petitions sent to him by various citizens and these caused so much confusion at times that Mr. Read of Davis and Martin counties refused to serve on the committee with him but led the fight against the resolution. On a test vote the house refused to kill the resolution. Later Mr. Leavenworth withdrew all the petitions.

Mr. Leavenworth tried hard to get a law enacted to build a railroad from Indianapolis to the Ohio river. When the matter came up before the people of Crawford county such a storm of opposition arose that he was not re-elected in 1828. He believed that railroads were better than canals and made a remarkable speech in favor of railroads. This speech caused so much comment that the *Indiana Journal* secured a copy from Mr. Leavenworth and printed it in the *Journal*, March 20, 1827. Men said that the "cars" would run over the stock in the fields and woods and kill the children in the streets. At that time the stock ran out in the forests.³

One very far-sighted measure which Mr. Leavenworth advocated was a Marine hospital for the sick river men. Often these men and women were exposed to the cholera and other diseases while they were traveling on the boats. Sometimes there would be an epidemic of cholera at New Orleans. A passenger returning from the south might develop the disease while he was on the boat and expose everyone on the boat. After various encounters in the house the measure was defeated. Had this law been enacted the state would have been compelled to build a hospital at some town on the Ohio river, where men who were sick on the boats might be taken and cared for till they were able to go home.⁴

In 1828 he opened up a tavern at Leavenworth, where he had operated ferries over the Ohio river and Big Blue, besides operating the mills which have been mentioned. He was interested in education and at one time was one of the

³ *Indiana Journal*, March 20, 1827.

⁴ *Indiana House Journal* 1829, pages 127 and 172.

trustees of Indiana University, 1838.⁵ He was engaged in every enterprise whereby the county would be improved. The commissioner's records from 1824 to 1834 have many references to his activities. He lived at Leavenworth till about 1850 when he moved to Missouri, where he died in 1853.

Zebulum Leavenworth, who was also a descendant of the above mentioned Thomas Leavenworth, was a cousin of Seth Marshall. He was born at Granville, Massachusetts, January 4, 1792. He attended the public schools till he completed the course of study. When the great tide of immigration began in 1811 he moved west to the city of Cincinnati where he taught school one year. After he had closed his school in 1812 he studied law at Chillicothe, Ohio, under Judge Scott for one year. In 1814 he became a surveyor. The government at that time needed a large number of surveyors because the War of 1812 was practically over and a great number of men were moving west. Mr. Leavenworth was a very good mathematician and enjoyed the work. He went to Illinois and worked for the government for a long time. When he was no longer needed he returned to Cincinnati on a keel boat. This was rather slow traveling. The keel boat was different from the broad horn, being pushed with oars and poles. This must have been a laborious undertaking when one thinks of pushing an old boat for several hundred miles against the current of the swift Ohio river. Arriving at Cincinnati he engaged in trade with success. In 1816 he moved to Jeffersonville, Indiana, and two years later he located at what is now Leavenworth, Indiana, in Crawford county.

On January 11, 1821, he married Margaret Patterson, at Leavenworth, Indiana. She was born in Delaware, December 28, 1802, her people moving to Leavenworth in 1819.⁶

Zebulum Leavenworth was connected with Seth M. Leavenworth in most of the enterprises already mentioned.

He served in the General Assembly of Indiana during the sessions of 1830, 1832 and 1833. His work on education, on the management of the city of Indianapolis, and on finances were meritorious. He served on the committee of ways and

⁵ Indiana University *Catalogue* for 1837-38, 39.

⁶ Most all the information on this page was taken from the Leavenworth genealogy book.

means, opposed the law which changed the way of doing business in Crawford county but was defeated. When he returned home in 1831 the people elected him county commissioner from the second district composed of Jennings township. He was road supervisor for many years and in 1827 he was elected justice of peace for Jennings township.⁷

Mr. Leavenworth was one of the stockholders in the clay turnpike company and helped run the stage line from Leavenworth via Bloomington to Indianapolis. As late as 1860 several of the old coaches of this stage line could be seen standing in the vacant lots at Leavenworth.⁸

In 1858 Zebulum Leavenworth was elected township trustee of Jennings township.⁹

In 1858 Mr. Leavenworth went over part of Scott township in Harrison county and secured the signatures of 72 land owners to a petition praying that that part of Scott township be joined to Crawford county. The citizens of Harrison county carried the case to the circuit court at Corydon. When the case was called for trial Mr. Walter Q. Gresham was Leavenworth's attorney and Mr. Wolf represented Harrison county. For a long time it seemed that Crawford county would win, and just as the county judge was about to give the decision Attorney Wolf came up to the judge and said that he wanted to see him privately before he gave the decision. In the private interview Wolf told the judge that if that part of Scott township was given to Crawford county that it would endanger the Democratic party in the county of Harrison; that part of the township was heavily Democratic and if given to Crawford county it would reduce the majority in Harrison county so much that the party would be in danger of defeat. The next morning the judge decided that the action was unconstitutional and the land could not be given to Crawford county. Mr. Leavenworth could have appealed the case to the state supreme court for the sum of 50 dollars but he could not get a man in the town of Leavenworth to help raise the money.¹⁰ Had that land been gained to Crawford county in 1858, then English would not have won

⁷ County Commissioners' Records from 1824 to 1834.

⁸ Information given the writer by E. P. Leavenworth, son of Zebulum Leavenworth.

⁹ County Commissioners' Records for 1859.

the county seat in 1896, for then the town of English would not have been the central point of the county. Mr. Leavenworth lived to celebrate his golden wedding at Leavenworth in 1871. The *Leavenworth Independent* has the following account of the celebration:

Golden Wedding A Half Century of Wedded Life The Dinner Speeches Supper Presents A Rare Occasion and a Splendid Time. The first golden wedding ever celebrated in Crawford county took place at the residence of Oliver Leavenworth near the town last Wednesday evening. The parties celebrating their fiftieth year of wedded life were Zebulum Leavenworth and his wife, Margaret Leavenworth. Ages 79 and 69 respectively.

At the dinner party given on Wednesday at noon to a number of friends and members of the family Mr. Leavenworth arose and in a voice full of emotion gave the history of their married life in poem form. The poem was full of pathos and sublime thoughts and when the aged gentleman resumed his seat every eye was full of tears. Below is the poem in full:

1. Fifty years through shine and shadow,
 Fifty years, my gentle wife,
You and I have walked togethr
 Down the rugged hill of life.
2. From the hill of spring we started
 And through all the summer land
And the fruited autumn country
 We have journey hand in hand.
3. We have borne the heat and burden
 Willingly, painfully, and slow.
We have gathered in our harvest
 With rejoicing long ago.
4. Leave the upland to our children.
 They are strong to sow and reap.
Through the quiet wintry lowlands
 We our level way will keep.
5. 'Tis a dreary country, darling,
 You and I are passing through,
But the road lies straight before us
 And the miles are short and few.

¹⁰ Information given by his son E. P. Leavenworth.

¹¹ Leavenworth Genealogy Book.

6. No more dangers to encounter,
 No more hills to climb, true friend,
Nothing now but simple walking
 Till we reach the journey's end.
7. We have had our time of gladness.
 It was a proud and happy day.
Ah. The proudest of our journey
 When we felt that we could say;
8. Of the children God has given us,
 Proudly looking on the six,
Lovely women are our daughters
 And our sons are manly men.
9. We have had our time of sorrow
 And our time of anxious fear
When we could not see the mile stones
 Through the blindness of our tears.
10. In the sunny summer country
 Far behind us Little Zebie, Thaddie,
And Marshall, too, grew weary
 And we left them on the way.
11. Are you looking backward, Mother,
 That you stumble in the snow?
I am still your guide and staff,
 Lean upon me even so.
12. And what is that which you say?
 Yes, I know your eyes are dim
But we have not lost our journey
 And our trust is placed in him.
13. Cheer thee, cheer thee, faithful heart,
 Just a little way before,
Lies the great Eternal City
 Of the King that we adore.
14. I can see the shining spires
 And the King, the King, my dear,
We have served him long and faithful.
 He will bless us never fear.

15. And the snow falls fast and heavy,
How you shiver in the cold,
Let me wrap your mantle closer
And my arm about you fold.
16. We are weak and faint and heavy
And the sun's low in the west,
We have reached the gate, my darling,
Let us tarry here and rest.

Mr. Leavenworth lived at his home there till about 1878 when he died and was buried in Cedar cemetery, overlooking the little town in which he had lived so long and which he loved so well. The hill covered with cedars was given to the town by Mr. Leavenworth for a cemetery and has long been known as Cedar cemetery.¹² His son with whom the author is well acquainted lives in Leavenworth at the date of writing and has furnished valuable information.

The site of Leavenworth lies on the Ohio river about three miles above the town of Fredonia, where the rich bottom is about one-fourth of a mile wide. A large spring of the best drinking water ran out from under the river hill. Hence the site was much superior to the town of Fredonia. The town is about 363 feet above the sea.¹³ Boats can land directly at the wharf. The plat which was made by the Leavenworths may yet be seen in the county recorder's office at English, the county seat. The streets as platted are 50 feet wide, except Front street, which is 60. The alleys are 12 feet wide. The plat submitted here is an exact copy of the original. It was filed in the recorder's office at Mount Sterling on July 14, 1819, William Samuels being the county recorder at that time.¹⁴

The town was situated on the deepest bend of the Ohio river and soon became a landing port for the towns of Salem, Paoli, Bono, Jasper and Bloomington. Of course not all of the commerce of these towns passed through Leavenworth but a large amount of the trade passed there. Leavenworth was the principal trading point till the Monon railroad was

¹² Information given the author by Mrs. Sullivan of Indianapolis, one of his daughters.

¹³ *Indiana School Journal*.

¹⁴ County recorder's office, Deed Book 1, page 21.

built out from New Albany through Borden, Salem, Orleans, Bedford and Bloomington. Then freight could be hauled to those towns much easier and cheaper on the railroads.

The old bus or stage line ran from Leavenworth to Bloomington. It left Bedford every Monday at 6:00 a. m. and came by the way of Mount Sterling and Fredonia with the mail. The mail bus arrived at Fredonia on Tuesday at noon. After the Salem and the Paoli roads were built the coaches ran directly to these towns and did not go around by Fredonia.¹⁵ One may judge of the amount of business done at Leavenworth by the number of roads which ran out from the town in all directions.

The freight could be landed on the banks of the Ohio river at Leavenworth very easily. A road was built up the side of the bluff back of Leavenworth and another road was constructed up the hill by going around up Poison creek. Here the hill is not so precipitous and a reasonable load can be hauled when the roads are kept in good repair. The old Jasper road came up the river hill near the Big spring. One who has not seen the river hills here cannot tell anything about the amount of work required to construct such a road.

Many town lots were sold in Leavenworth after the plat was recorded. The board doing county business granted Julius Woodford a license to sell foreign merchandise on May 2, 1825, for a fee of \$10. This license was good for one year and permitted the man to sell any imported goods that he cared to handle and the people would buy. Elias Lyons opened up a store on January 2, 1827.¹⁶

Elisha Tadlock, who had represented Crawford county in the General Assembly in 1825, was the first one to open up a tavern in Leavenworth. He began business in May, 1827. Seth Marshall Leavenworth opened up a hotel in 1828. H. H. Samuels started a store in the town on the first day of January, 1833. Just how many people lived in the town of Leavenworth in 1830 one cannot now tell. In that year there were 3,234 people in the county. In 1820 there were 2,583. By 1830 there were about 128 farms sold in the county. Hence one can see that there was a large number of squatters in

¹⁵ *Indiana Journal*, August 14, 1827. See mail bids.

the county.¹⁶ In that case Leavenworth might have had 100 people.

In 1834 the leading citizens of Leavenworth secured several lots near where the Big spring branch runs into the Ohio river and started a manufacturing company. One finds a record of the matter in the grantor and the grantee books, but no further trace of the matter can be found. The records do not tell what the company manufactured. The following is a brief form of the charter which the General Assembly granted the company.

The Leavenworth Manufacturing Company was incorporated by law February 1, 1834. The principal sections of the charter are:

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the state of Indiana, that John Peckinpaugh, Dudley Gresham, and Elam Willey together with such other persons as may associate with them for the purpose of prosecuting the manufacturing, exporting and importing business within the state to be established and located at the town of Leavenworth or near the town in Crawford county, Indiana, be and the same are hereby ordained and declared to be a body politic and to all intents and purposes to be known by the name of the Leavenworth Manufacturing Company by which name they and their successors shall have continued succession, and be entitled to use all the privileges and the immunities of the laws of the state of Indiana. The said corporation shall exist for a term of 50 years.

Section 2. The capital stock of the company shall consist of \$100000 and shall consist of \$100 shares. The said corporation shall begin business when \$4000 worth of the stock has been sold. Dudley Gresham, Elam Willey, and John Peckinpaugh shall receive subscriptions to the said capital stock.

Section 3. When \$4000 worth of the capital stock has been sold, the corporation shall elect 5 directors who shall have the whole management of the stock and the property. The said directors shall be elected by the stock holders.

Section 6. The stock holders of the corporation shall be held responsible for the amount of their subscriptions to the capital stock.

Section 7. The capital stock shall be considered as personal property and managed as the board of directors may direct.

Section 9. This corporation shall not act or be engaged in any species of banking business or issue any bills of credit in the form of bank notes.

¹⁶ Commissioners' Records on the above dates using book two.

Section 10. This act shall be and is hereby declared to be a public act for the purpose herein specified and shall take effect and be in force at once.¹⁷

Leavenworth by 1830 had far outgrown Fredonia. Many of the citizens of the town had for some time desired the seat of justice re-located at Leavenworth. A law was enacted in 1827 which provided for the relocating of county seats by a committee consisting of Henry McGee of Orange county, John McPheeters and Robert McIntire of Washington, George Boone of Harrison and David Burr of Jackson.¹⁸

This committee was to meet at Fredonia on the first Monday in March, 1828, and make a careful study of the situation. Should the committee after a careful survey think that the seat of justice ought to be moved, the committee was authorized to choose a new seat of justice. This committee did not think it was best to move the seat of justice; so the county seat remained at Fredonia for several years more.

In 1831 the law of Indiana made a change in the way of doing county business. Before that date most of the business was done by a board composed in Crawford county of justices of peace from each township. By the new law the county was divided into three districts and one commissioner was to be elected from each district. At the election held in August, 1831, Zebulum Leavenworth was elected commissioner from the second district composed of Jennings and Whiskey Run townships. Jacob Rice was elected from the first district composed of Ohio and Union townships. James Glenn was elected from the third district composed of Sterling and Patoka townships. The seal of the county commissioners consisted of a round device containing these words: "Commissioners' Court of Crawford County", and a likeness of a girl holding a pair of balances.¹⁹

The people in Leavenworth tried to build up a town seminary. On December 24, 1830, a law was enacted providing for the incorporation of a seminary. The chief men who composed the body corporate and politic were John L. Smith, Elam Willey, Andrew Biers, James B. Davidson and Seth M. Leaven-

¹⁷ *Indiana State Laws* 1834, page 98.

¹⁸ *Indiana State Laws* 1827, page 86.

¹⁹ *Indiana State Laws* 1830-1831, page 59.

worth. They were styled "The President and the Trustees of the Leavenworth Seminary Society" and in that name could sue and be sued.²⁰

The law provided that the trustees should be elected annually on the first Monday of April by the subscribers of the seminary. These trustees should take an oath before entering upon their duties and after which they should elect one of their number president who should be competent to manage the business.

The trustees were to employ competent men as teachers and dismiss the same when thought best. The law looked well on paper but so many difficulties existed that not much was done in education. Fredonia had a school society too about this time, but the citizens there never succeeded any better than the ones at Leavenworth in school matters. The chief men who were interested in Fredonia were Allen D. Thom, Jacob Rice and Thomas Cummins.²¹

Leavenworth was more successful when in 1835 a law was enacted to incorporate a seminary for Crawford county. The board of trustees located the site of the seminary at Leavenworth.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That the qualified voters living in Crawford county are hereby authorized to elect at their next annual election one commissioner or a seminary trustee in each township of the county by a vote of the whole county, and the qualified voter in each township receiving the highest number of votes given in said election in the whole county shall be considered as duly elected trustee.

Section 2. The trustees so elected or two thirds of them shall meet in the town of Leavenworth on the first Monday in May next, and each before entering upon his duties as trustee execute a bond with security, made payable to the state of Indiana in a penalty of \$400, conditioned for the faithful performance of their duties as such, which bond shall be filed in the clerk's office.

Section 3. The trustees so elected and their successors in office are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate by the name and style of the president and the trustees of the Crawford county seminary, and by that name corporate name may sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded in any court of legal proceedings in this state and by that name have perpetual succession.

²⁰ County Commissioners' Records for 1831.

²¹ *Indiana State Laws* 1831, page 131.

Section 4. The trustees at their first meeting, or any subsequent meeting, may appoint, designate, fix, and determine, at which place in said county the seminary shall be located and a suitable building erected. When the majority of trustees has selected a place and a suitable lot on which to locate said building they may demand the seminary funds of the county which may be on hands at that time.

Section 5. The trustees or a majority of them, at their first or subsequent meeting shall elect of their own body a president and a treasurer who may not be of their own body, to continue in office during the will of a majority of the trustees.

Section 6. The treasurer of Crawford county is hereby authorized and required to pay any order given by the board of county commissioners to the trustee of the Crawford county library.

Section 7. The trustees so elected shall remain in office during good behaviour.²²

The trustees met at Leavenworth and after being duly organized and having considered different places selected Leavenworth as the site for the county seminary. Ebenezer E. Morgan, who was county clerk, sold the trustees certain lots on which to build the seminary. These lots are designated on the plat of the town of Leavenworth. At that time William Course, who was seminary trustee, had \$427.66 on hands.

The trustees built a large two story house for the seminary. The old building which is still standing is now used for a residence by William Conrad.

Leavenworth by 1840 had far outgrown Fredonia. A newspaper, *The Leavenworth Arena*, was being published in 1839. The *Arena* was the first paper that one finds any account of in the records of the county.²³

The town of Leavenworth was incorporated by a state law February 7, 1835.

²² *Indiana State Laws* 1835, page 32.

²³ Commissioners' Records, book three, January, 1839.

Pioneer Stories of the Calumet

By J. W. LESTER, Gary

When I undertook to write the stories of Lake county pioneers, I had no thought of contributing anything to local history, for it seemed obvious that the ground had been thoroughly searched for information of historic interest. Mrs. Sheehan, Mr. Knotts, Mr. Bowers, Mr. Matthews, and our friends in Hammond, Crown Point, and other places in the county, had given the public accurate and intensely interesting reports of their findings.

But I always have enjoyed visiting strange places and meeting interesting people. I take in shorthand the exact words of those who have a story to tell. It is to me a diversion which has become a hobby. When I record a story I hold myself unaccountable for grammatical or other errors, for should any occur I can point to the other person and say, "He told it." While the one who tells the story can evade criticism by pointing to me and saying, "He wrote it." My plan lessens the responsibility of both parties.

Of the many stories I have recorded, the most interesting are of the early stage routes, the trails, and the home life of the pioneers. One tells of hunting deer and wild turkey on the banks of the Calumet; another of the taverns along the stage roads; and still others, of seeing the first steam engine; of fighting bald eagles along the beach; of visiting Indian encampments and partaking of muskrat stew; of witnessing the exodus of the Pottawatamies when they were forced by the government to leave the richest hunting grounds in America; of the battles between gamewardens and poachers among the swamps of the Little Calumet; of the first building on the present site of this city; and finally of the beginnings of Hegewisch, Tolleston, Hammond, and Gary. Among those whose stories I have recorded are: Mrs. Henrietta Gibson, Rev. Handley, Isaac Crissman, Wm. Kunert, Mrs. Vincent, Mr. Pesche, Conrad Fabian, Mr. Nimitz, Mrs. Carr, and Arthur Patterson.

Copies of these stories are to be preserved in the city library by our secretary, Mr. Baily, and they will be accessible to members of the historical society and others who might be interested.

REMINISCENCES OF MRS. HENRIETTA GIBSON (January 2, 1922)

My full name is Henrietta E. Gibson. I was born in Hamilton, Canada, September 18, 1844. My father's name was David Combs. He was born in Erie, New York, and was a manufacturer of cloth. I have one brother, Major George W.

Combs, of Glencoe, Illinois. Our family came by way of Detroit to Chicago in 1846, and to Ainsworth station, now called South Chicago, on February 27, 1850. There was only one building there. That was the depot, and a man by the name of Spears was agent. Father traded two horses and a wagon and harness for forty acres where Hegewisch is. That part of the country was called The Calumet region. It was nothing but a wilderness of swamps, and the government sold the land for a dollar and a quarter an acre. Our farm was right where the U. S. Rolling Stock company factory is located, at Hegewisch. Father bought the James H. Cassidy inn at the toll bridge, in 1850, and bought the stage house from Mr. Brumley in 1853. That was about a half-mile from the fork of the Calumet river. The driver of the stage coach always blew a horn before he came in. Stages ran on a regular schedule like the railroads, so we knew when they would come and watched for them. Father would have horses hitched at the barn, or relay station, so they could go right on to Chicago. The station was on the north side of the river at Hegewisch. George Bunt kept the toll gate there and charged three cents for each team that was driven across the river.

There were lots of Indians there. They kept their wigwams right at the forks of the Grand Calumet, about a half-mile south of our stage house. They were Pottawatamies. Chief Shaubenee often came there on business. He was very friendly. My mother often hired the squaws to work about the house, but they wouldn't take any money for it because their husbands would take it from them, so my mother gave them flour and eggs. One name was Naominequay (Na-ö mi-ne-quay'). She could talk English, and was rather nice looking. I played with the Indian children a great deal and acquired a kind of a dialect so I could talk with them. Two of the girls had English names, Mary and Elizabeth. The boys hunted with bows and arrows; the older men, with old-fashioned guns. Shaubenee was short and thick-set and had long hair. In cold weather he wore a blanket and fairly good Indian clothes, including the leggings, blanket and moccasins, and he always wore hoop earrings. His blanket was red, trimmed with a black border—most of them wore gray. He used to say, "I be Shaubenee—I own Shaubenee Grove." That

was the way he introduced himself. Once he brought two girls to our house. I think they were his daughters. They went to Notre Dame college and were fine girls. They dressed like Americans and played lovely on the piano. He was proud of them and wasn't satisfied to have them like the other Indian girls. When they came home they always came by stage. The Indians always went to the Straits of Mackinac in summer. They were lazy, and did nothing but hunt and fish. They were all Catholics, and we could hear them worshipping in the morning. They would kneel down to the sun and chant. I often went with my father to their wigwams. The squaws made baskets, moccasins and miniature canoes of birch bark. They ornamented the things with porcupine quills. They made flowers on the edges of the canoes and stained them with berries. Most of them left in 1862, as Tolleston was building up then and the whites were coming in fast and crowding them out. Father sold the stage house there to Doctor Egan, of Chicago.

I was married in 1860 and I only saw a few Indians after that. My husband was the first station agent at Tolleston. While we were there two boys called one day on their way home from college. They were tall, straight and nice looking. They asked if I remembered them, but I didn't; then one reminded me of something that had happened at their camp when I had visited it, and then I remembered them. His name was Antone. They were both well dressed. After we moved to Tolleston I saw an encampment in Gary, or where Gary is now. It was on the edge of the Calumet marsh right down here at Twenty-first avenue, south of the Michigan Central and just north of the Pennsylvania railroad, about a half a mile east of where Broadway is. I saw some of the Indians we knew at Hegewisch, and often saw Shaubensee out here. One day when I was there they had quartered muskrat and yellow hard corn they were cooking in a big camp kettle that looked like a soap kettle. It set out in the open, and they had sticks set up, with one across them to hang the kettle on. They dipped the stuff out and ate it with some kind of wooden spoons or gourds. They were pleased to have us come to see them, and they offered me some of the soup. I didn't want to taste it, but tried it to please them. I didn't like it, for

they didn't use any salt or other seasoning. The encampment was in a valley at the base of a large dune they called Coup-ne-con'. Con Sheffier removed the dune and he found the remains of an Indian in the sand. He gave them to the Tolleston school and I suppose they are there yet. We knew the Joe Bailly family well. I used to play with Rose and Frank. I visited them and they visited me at Grandma Gibson's. They were half or part Indian and were beautiful girls and well educated. But their grandmother was real Indian. She lived in a hut by herself, and wore a broadcloth skirt, leggings and a shawl. She was swarthy and had straight, black hair, but was rather nice looking. Most of the Indians had clear-cut features. A half breed French and Indian lived near them with the Indians. His name was Jean Baptiste Cloochie—we called him "Clookie." A man in Chicago by the name of C. D. Wicker married one of the Bailly girls and took a fancy to the half-breed. He arranged to have him stay with my mother-in-law at the Gibson Inn, a mile or two east of Tolleston, where Gary is. He lived there for twenty odd years and died when he was about ninety years old. He was buried in Tolleston. That was in 1864. He was a fine old fellow and everybody liked him. The Indians were nice to you if you were nice to them, but it didn't do to anger them.

Ernest Hohman married an Englishwoman and kept a stage where Hammond stands. It was north of the river. Gibson station, near there, was named after my father-in-law's brother. He had a farm between Gibson and Hammond.

George Tolle, a man who manufactured surgical instruments, invested a good deal in land around here, and built a house near where Lewis A. Bryan's place is. Tolleston was named after him.

My mother-in-law, Anna Maria Gibson, kept a stage house where the Froebel school building stands. It was called the Gibson Inn. She first went there in 1837, and her husband, Thomas Gibson, built the inn in 1837 or '38. He came from Columbus, Ohio, in 1835. The hotel was a good, two-story, hewn low building, which he built on the forty-acres. It faced east on the old wagon road about where Madison street is, as near as I can remember. It was a little north-east of where the school building stands. I couldn't say how many

feet from it, but it was right close by. The barns stood about where the building is. The inn was close to Gibson Run, a small creek, and there was another small stream near there. There were no other buildings nearer than at Miller's (Miller station) and Tolleston. They sold out during the stock yards' boom. The tavern was still standing in 1861 but was torn down shortly after.

The stage route ran from Detroit to Michigan City, from Michigan City to Gary, or where Gary is now, and from here to Chicago. The drivers would come from Michigan City to "Mother" Gibson's inn—we called mother-in-law, "Mother." They generally got their dinner there, then came to our place at Hegewisch for supper, then went to the Five-Mile house, near Douglas monument; that was called Chicago then. The stage crossed the Michigan Central about where Madison street is in Gary and then ran to Hammond. They kept four and sometimes six horses on the stage.

When I picked huckleberries around here there were no houses except the Gibson inn. We lived in a two-story house where the Tolleston station stands. My husband got fifty dollars a month, wood for heating, light and rent, as station agent for the Pennsylvania and Michigan Central railroads. Lewis Kanothe came out in 1858 or '59 and started a little grocery at Tolleston; then Charles Kunert and George Wendt came. Mr. Kunert bought and sold huckleberries and made a lot of money on them. I have caught pickerel and black bass right where the Gary hotel stands. There was a slough, or swamp, there that was fed by a stream from Long lake, near Miller. It didn't cost much to live them; we had fresh milk, butter and cream, cranberries, honey from wild bees, mallards and other game.

In the early part of 1865 I had company at Tolleston and had cooked potatoes for dinner. I put the parings in a pail and set them on a bench back of the house. Pretty soon we heard some bumping and knocking against the side of the house and I went out to see what the matter was. A deer had been attracted to the salt in the potatoes and put his head in the bucket to get at them. His horns had got fast against the bale and he couldn't get out. He shook his head, then started to run with the pail still sticking. He jumped the

high board fence and the pail came off. He ran for the woods, but my husband started after him with a gun and soon brought the deer back. As late as in 1865 he took a vacation from the railroad and hunted deer from September to April. He shot eighteen, and they were all killed around here and where Gary stands. He showed me where he killed one right where the Lake Shore station was built. He killed his last in 1880 on this side of Michigan City. It happened to be on Thanksgiving day, and it seemed that every one wanted to see the deer. He sold it to Mr. Brinkman, a market man, and he gave it to the state. The head is mounted at Indianapolis and there is a plate under it which tells when and where it was killed.

I don't think there is a foot of ground around here that I haven't tramped over to pick huckleberries, and little did I think then that such a fine city as Gary would ever be built on those hills and swamps.

MRS. HENRIETTA E. GIBSON

MRS. MARY VINCENT, PIONEER OF LAKE COUNTY
(December 31, 1921)

I was born at Deep river and have lived in Lake county all my life—eighty-two years. My father, John Wood, was born in 1800 and died at Deep river in 1883. He came from Salem, Massachusetts, in 1835, to Wood's mills, three miles west of Ainsworth, Lake county. He had a saw mill and a grist mill; that is why they called the place Wood's mills. He built a log cabin in 1835 and went back to Massachusetts and brought the family out. The family came by way of Detroit, and from there to Michigan City by stage. Friends brought them to Deep river, a distance of twenty-five miles, and it took them two days. Daniel and Nathan Lowe lived at Michigan City; they were nephews of my father.

Michigan City was then the city of the west, and they expected it to be the greatest. They also expected Liverpool to be a great city, and my grandfather, Pattee, and my father bought lots there for \$250 each. They didn't think much of Chicago then. On the way from Michigan City to Deep river we stayed over night with a family by the name of Wolff.

The roads were bad and we had to cross a bridge about a mile long, south of Baillytown. Father and mother knew the Joseph Bailly family well and often stopped there. There was another family by the name of Dillingham that they knew.

There was only Indians around Deep river, and we had no near white neighbors. It was all hazel brush around Valparaiso, and but one man lived there. He was a sort of hermit. Solon Robinson was at Crown Point. There was a tavern four miles west of us, south of Lake station (now known as East Gary) and between Wood's mills and Centerville (now Merrillville). It was kept by Mr. Pierce. The Gibson house is the only building I remember of being where Gary is now. It was along the stage line.

They used to run a stage from LaPorte to Chicago. Our place was on what is now known as the Lincoln highway—the state road running to Joliet. We always took the stage to Chicago. There was a corduroy road that crossed a marsh at Westville, nine miles east of Valparaiso. They paid toll to travel from Michigan City to Westville. In about 1851 we all went down to Lake station to see the first train come in. It was on the Michigan Central, and people came from miles to see it. I remember it well, for I was ten years old at the time. There was a small hotel there then, and I believe it is still standing.

There was a tribe of Indians at Michigan City and they often came out to Deep river to hunt and trap. In about 1841 or '42 about five hundred came through Deep river. They were Pottawatamies. They were moved out west and they stopped near us for two days to rest and to let the squaws do their washing. There were several guards with them. One of the officers stayed with us while they camped there.

When California was opened up there were lines and lines of covered wagons passing our place from early morning until late at night. They came from Michigan and different states. Many of the travelers stopped and camped near us, and would come to the house to get water and supplies.

My grandfather, Moses Wood, of Andover, Massachusetts, fought in the Revolution, and was at the Battle of Lexington. My ancestor, John Wood, came from England, and settled in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1629.

MRS. MARY VINCENT

EARLY DAYS IN LAKE COUNTY

(January 18, 1922)

My father, Charles Kunert, was born in Prussia in 1829, and came here from Spring Valley, Illinois, in about 1856. He was the first postmaster in Tolleston.

He used to walk to Chicago and exchange blueberries for groceries. He was married to Augusta Aurich and there were ten children: Emily was the oldest, then Ernest, William C., Carolyn, Mary, George, Henrietta, Louise, Clara, Arthur, Walter and Charles. There are nine living. I was born the third of January, 1864, here at the corner of Taft and Ninth avenue.

The Gibson tavern was at Fourteenth and Madison. Crone had a tavern a mile east of Gibson station; the next was Hohman's, at Hammond; the next Reese's, at Hegewisch, at what they called the Indian ridge. They said there was quite an Indian reservation on the ridge years ago. There were swamps and forests all the way from Hegewisch to South Chicago. The Gibson tavern was just about on the southeast corner of what is now Madison street and Fourteenth avenue. I remember real well of the old tavern. It was a plain building, and, if I remember correctly, the bottom was made of logs and the top was frame. It faced east, to the best of my recollection. It stood about three hundred feet west of Gibson run, and was torn down in about 1869 or '70. The run was just about where Jefferson street is. It got its water from the sloughs and run northwest and emptied into the Calumet. The other branch they called Gibson run came through Tolleston between Garfield and Grant street, and it run from Eleventh avenue to Roosevelt and Seventeenth.

From 1876 to 1884 I did most of my hunting in what is now the first and second subdivision of Gary, or, rather, east of Broadway. In them days I used to hunt for market, and my main stands were just east of the Gary hotel, about where Broadway is, where the Delaware hotel stands, and about where the Emerson school is. The ponds, there is where I did most of my hunting. It was all hunting with muzzle-loaders. When I got thirty ducks a day father came after me with a wagon and got me. I used to sell the mallards in Chicago for ninety cents to a dollar and fifteen cents a dozen. I

averaged easily thirty-six a day; I know days that I got seventy. The upper end of the slough where the Gary hotel is was the best place for hunting. There was about eight to ten feet of water, and on both sides of the slough there was a bed of rice about thirty feet wide, and the rest was smart weed—that was great feed for the ducks. At the other places there was rice and smart weed, and a good many oak trees, and the ducks fed on the acorns. I killed forty-eight in one day in 1906 at about Sixth and Virginia streets. I went out in the forenoon and killed the limit and then I went out again in the afternoon. I have seen deer here. They used to tell about a big oak tree at Gibson's place at Ninth and Cleveland where they could see three or four deer hanging most any day. Gibson shot lots of them around here.

I was out in 1870 with Mr. August Elser. He killed one north of Aetna on the Grand Calumet river and another about where the Coke plant is, in Gary. I have the heads of both of these mounted. There was John Becker, August Keck, Ernest Harms and Herman Kirchoff in the hunting party. There was one more killed after this in the pineries near Pine station, by John Becker—that was in 1872 or '73. There were plenty of quail and partridges.

I was superintendent of the Tolleston club of Chicago from 1889 to 1897. There was a hunting club along the Little Calumet river that started with the following members: August Elser, John Becker, George Stolley, James Ewen and Dan Owsley. The men who came from Chicago came out to these men's places to hunt, and in 1868, I think it was, they started the Tolleston club of Chicago. The first superintendent was Daniel Hall, of Chicago, then Alexander McDougal, Edward Savage, James French, Willard West, myself, Frank Sommers, Ed. Brennan and George Haecker.

The grounds were practically owned by the club. In the first place they bought forty acres, then they got in a man by the name of Alexander, who owned the ground surrounding the tract. They had his consent to dig the canal. After his death they got possession of his farm of 320 acres. Their holdings extended from what is now Chase street west to Clark, north to Twenty-fifth and south to the meander line. There was a meander line on the north side and one on the

south side of the river. The government laid that out as swamp lands, and it couldn't be sold for any other purpose. Some people's land extended beyond the meander line; and the club bought that from the owners and some they took by squatters' rights. Quite a little of this land went into litigation, for instance sections nineteen and twenty, with John Cluff, father of John Burns, which suit they lost to Cluff; section twenty-one, with John Gunzenhouser, which was won by the club. Several other adjoining property owners had suits with the club, but the club won on all of them.

I took charge of the club on the first day of January, and at about that time there were several big battles between poachers and watchmen. In 1893 James Conroy, head gamekeeper, and John Cleary were killed by Al Looker at John Hargen's saloon. In 1894 Dick Stone, one of the guards, was killed on the marsh. In 1896, when John Cluff won the suit, a battle raged between the farmer boys south of the river in which Theodore Prott had his knee cap shot off and Frank Kostic, a farmer boy, was shot through the lungs. Lawrence Traeger, a watchman for Frank Whitlock, was shot, but Dr. Senn, Dr. Miller and Dr. Reynolds happened to be out from Chicago and they attended to him right there in the swamps, and he got all right. Barney Whitlock and Charles Blackburn, guards, were sent to prison. Barney got six months and a five-hundred-dollar fine, and Charley went to Jeffersonville for two to fourteen years, but was out in fourteen or fifteen months.

Frank Whitlock was head gamekeeper of the marsh and I was superintendent of the house—they always had two superintendents. There was lots of small skirmishes that were never recorded. I know of a number of instances. The Nimitz brothers, John and Henry, were the most persistent of all the poachers.

In 1894 was one of the greatest years for duck hunting that there was on the marsh, according to the reports from all the members who had been going there since 1896. In the 70's there was a good many canvasback and redhead; and in the 80's and 90's there was more mallard, pintail and bluing teal; there were also bluebill, spoonbill, gadwall, widgeon, green wigdeon and green-wing teal. I knew of one swan and

one pelican killed in 1885 or '86. They were killed by the club members.

On the 27th day of October, 1894, F. A. Howe, president of the club, killed 143 ducks, mostly mallards; J. M. Glispie killed 117, R. M. Fair, a partner of Marshall Fields, killed 75 green head mallards in the morning and took the 11 o'clock train back to Chicago with his ducks. I went out all day and killed 198 ducks and two geese.

Some might think this a fish story but the facts are right on record at the club house. I resigned from the Tolleston club in January, 1908, and went into business in the general store here in Tolleston. I sold out in the fall of 1899 and went to work as game warden, in 1901. I was put in as traveling deputy commissioner on fish and game for the state by Z. T. Sweeney, state commissioner. I resigned in February, 1905, to fill the unexpired term of August Conrod, as township trustee of Calumet township. The term expired January 1, 1908. Then I went into the real estate business and stayed in that three years. I am now employed with the United States Steel company.

WILLIAM KUNERT,
Former Supt. Tolleston Gun Club.

History of the Know Nothing Party In Indiana

By CARL FREMONT BRAND, A. M.

(Continued)

ORGANIZATION

Thanks to the efforts of that bitter enemy of Know Nothingism, the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, we have a knowledge of the inner workings of the Order in Indiana as it existed in the fall and winter of 1854.¹ A description of its machinery at this time, when it was in the height of its career, will not fit it at any other period, for it was continually in evolution. The ritual was adopted at the meeting of the Grand Council at New York City in June, 1854, and revised at the Cincinnati meeting in November.

The order was organized on the lodge system in a hierarchy of subordinate, county, state and national councils. Subordinate councils could be established only with the sanction of the state council. An authorized agent of the latter could confer the first and second degrees upon the applicants for a charter, who must be at least nine in number, and organize them into a council. For the charter the subordinate council paid the sum of two dollars to the state secretary and five dollars for the entire work of the order. Each council was designated by a name and a number. To become a member of the supreme order of the Star Spangled Banner a person must be twenty-one years of age, a believer in the Supreme Being, a protestant, born of protestant parents within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States, reared under protestant influence and not united in marriage with a Catholic wife. Candidates were admitted by ballot; five black balls excluding an applicant from the first degree and three from the second. Each council elected its own officers, which consisted of a president, vice-president, instructor, secretary, treasurer, marshal, chaplain, inside and outside sentinels and sometimes

¹ The complete ritual, copied from the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, September 18, 1854, is given in the appendix.

a judge advocate and a number of solicitors.² The president presided over the council and had sole charge of the charter and ritual of the order, which were never to be out of his possession except when necessary for a session of the council. He was the executive head of the body and had charge of all political work in the district over which the council had authority.³

The membership was organized in degrees. All persons elected to membership were eligible for the first degree, to which admission was gained by taking the obligation of that degree.⁴ This oath was designed to control the voter, who pledged himself to comply with the will of the majority even though it conflicted with his personal preference, and not to vote for any man for office who was not of native, protestant birth. Above the first degree was the second, to which a member must belong to be eligible to office in the order, or to command its support for office in the community. The applicant pledged himself that, if elected to any public office, he would remove all foreigners or aliens from office and in no case would appoint such to any position of trust. The third degree, introduced at the Cincinnati convention, has already been referred to. Its purpose was to control the national policy of the order; to make the preservation of the Union one of its main objects.

The county council was composed of one delegate from each subordinate council within the county and an additional delegate for every fifty members. At least three subordinate councils with an aggregate membership of one hundred were necessary for the formation of a county council. The president of the county council was *ex officio* the proxy of the president of the state council in his county. Every county council was required to obtain a seal from the corresponding secretary of the state council for which the sum of five dollars was paid. The device on the seal was the American eagle.⁵

The state council was composed of one delegate elected by each county council, and each delegate was entitled to one

² Indianapolis *Chapman's Chanticleer*, October 5, 1854.

³ See appendix for Constitution of subordinate councils.

⁴ The oaths are given in the ritual in the appendix.

⁵ See constitution of state council and orders of board of officers in the appendix.

vote with an additional vote for every five hundred members within the county which he represented. The officers consisted of a president, secretary, treasurer, chaplain, marshal and sergeant-at-arms. The president supervised the work of expansion. He appointed one proxy for each district in the state, which corresponded territorially to the eleven congressional districts, and through these proxies directed the policy of the order. These proxies kept the president in touch with all sections of the state. The other officers of the state council and the presidents of the county councils also had the powers of proxies. The meetings of the state council were held annually. At these annual sessions the delegates to the grand council were elected by ballot for a term of one year.⁶

The highest body in the Know Nothing system was the grand council of the United States. This was a representative body composed of thirteen delegates from each state, chosen by the state councils, with five delegates from each territory or district. In the nomination of candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, each state cast the same number of votes as it had in both houses of congress. Thirty-two delegates, representing thirteen states, constituted a quorum. The grand council had power to fix the signs, passwords and all matters concerning the secret ritual and decided what should be the national policy of the order. The officers, a president, vice-president, corresponding secretary, recording secretary and two sentinels, were elected annually by ballot. All officers and delegates were required to be full degree members of the organization. The sessions of the grand council were held annually. The officers were salaried and the delegates received three dollars per day for their attendance and mileage. Each state, district or territorial council paid the sum of four cents per annum for each member into the national treasury of the order.⁷

Like other secret societies, the Know Nothing lodge had its own form of council procedure. This included the use of passwords, signs, grips, signals of distress, test formulae, and

* See the constitution of the state council, orders of board of officers, and general rules and regulations in the appendix.

⁷ See the constitution of the grand council and general rules and regulations in the appendix.

rallying cries. There were special formalities for entering or leaving a meeting, and an elaborate initiation ceremonial. All meetings were opened with prayer. At ordinary sessions the members sat together as a first degree council. Separate sessions of the second degree members might be held after the adjournment of the first degree council. Probably there was also a third degree council session.⁸ So far it differed little from other secret orders, but the peculiar characteristic of the Know Nothing system was the fact that it sought to conceal the personnel of its membership. It tried to keep absolutely all knowledge of the order hidden from the outside world. To this end the time and place of the meetings were kept secret. The notice for a meeting was given by scattering right angled triangular pieces of paper about the streets. An inquirer would ask a brother, "Have you seen Sam today?" It was from this password that the order received the nickname of "Sam." A piece of paper of the same shape, but red in color, signified suspected danger, and the brethren would assemble prepared to meet it.⁹ The name of the society was disclosed to second degree members only. First degree members could truthfully claim to "Know Nothing" of the organization. Secrecy on every point was imposed on them. To avoid the questioning of curious outsiders, they professed ignorance of all matters pertaining to the society, for which they were dubbed "Know Nothings," in popular speech, and under that name they have been known ever since.

The political work of the order was divided between the subordinate and the higher councils. The subordinate councils were designed to control the smallest political areas. Each subordinate council in every corporate city, town or township elected one delegate, with an additional delegate for every additional fifty members of the council. These delegates met and nominated candidates for city, town and township offices. The councils had free expression so far as the instruction of delegates was concerned, but once the latter decided the policy

⁸ Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York*, 101.

⁹ "What's the matter with Sam?—The streets this morning were covered with triangular pieces of red paper, which, we believe, according to Sam's dictionary, means that there is trouble." *New Albany Ledger*, April 4, 1855. See also the *Indianapolis Journal*, April 5, 1855.

to be carried out, their decision was binding. Failure to obey would bring down the discipline of the order on the offending members.¹⁰

Likewise the county council nominated candidates for county offices. The political power of the state council was limited to the selection of candidates for state offices, and of state electors to be supported by members of the order. Candidates for congress were nominated by district councils. The constitution of the grand council gave it no power to nominate candidates for president and vice-president of the United States. When a national ticket was to be put in the field the grand council reorganized as a national convention.

The order issued no formal platform before 1855, but its objects were kept continually before the members by means of literature and speeches.¹²

Such was the organization of the order in the period of its greatest vigor. The system was designed to concentrate the control of the voters in the hands of a strong executive, so as to carry out the policy as decided by a few. How nicely it worked in 1854 has been shown. But such a system was bound to fail. The fear of the discipline of the order was in itself not sufficient to suppress individualism, and in the struggle the system had to bend and then break up altogether.

NATIONALISM AND SLAVERY

The state legislature of 1855 was known as the "Know-Nothing" legislature. because of the large number of Know Nothings in it.¹ A bill was introduced which proposed an amendment to the state constitution limiting the right of suffrage to those who were citizens of the United States, either by birth or by naturalization; but it never progressed beyond a second reading. The fear of offending the foreigners

¹⁰ See constitution of subordinate councils, Art. VIII, in the appendix. Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York*, 104-6.

¹² "The Know Nothing" is the name of a new book that has just been published. It is a story without preface, introduction, table of contents, page or chapter headings, or anything to indicate its character or subject, except the ominous 'Know Nothing'. Large editions, one after another, will probably disappear without anybody's knowledge." This article from the *Bedford White River Standard*, January 11, 1855, gives an idea of the character of Know Nothing literature.

¹ Brookville *Indiana American*, March 2, 1855.

was still too great to permit the passage of any distinctively nativist legislation.²

The Know Nothing movement in Indiana had reached its crest in the fall of 1854. As the slavery question gradually took precedence in the political world, Know Nothingism waned in importance. In vain they fought to keep nativism foremost. The discussion of the slavery question was forbidden. The Americans of the north were to stand by their brethern of the south as co-workers in a common cause.³ The anti-slavery agitation had already divided the Baptist and Methodist churches into two parts—a forcible illustration of the deep-seated hostility which already existed between the sections. It was depriving the people of all their national sentiment and replacing it with the fanaticism and bigotry of sectionalism.⁴ The third or "Union" degree embodied this nationalist doctrine and we have seen its disastrous results upon the councils in Indiana.

The Union degree gave currency to the belief that the south was rushing into the order with the hope of controlling its action. It was thought they were planning to ally the south with the native labor of the north against the immigrants who were anti-slavery in the main.⁵

From its origin the order in Indiana had been opposed to the further extension of slavery. They vigorously refuted the charge that Know Nothingism paralyzed anti-slavery sentiment. They pointed to the results of the state elections in the north to disprove the assertion. Against this strong sentiment the ignoring policy was powerless.⁶

The withdrawal of the members of Free Soil sympathies continued during the early part of 1855. A struggle ensued between the factions, the Indianapolis *Journal*, Berry Sulgrove, editor, upholding the anti-slavery policy and the New Albany *Tribune*, Milton Gregg, editor, the union policy. The anti-slavery contention was that the American party⁷ might

² New Albany *Tribune*, December 14, 1858.

³ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, December 18, 1854.

⁴ Whitney, *Defense of the American Policy*, 211.

⁵ Indianapolis *Journal*, May 12, June 6, 1855. Fort Wayne *Standard*, December 14, 1854.

⁶ Indianapolis *Journal*, February 12, 1855.

⁷ The Know Nothing organization and doctrines began to be known as the American Party and Americanism, respectively, during the early months of

gain great strength, win a few victories, even elect a president and gain control of congress, but its first infidelity to freedom would be the signal for its overthrow. Whenever the Know Nothings had fallen in with the anti-slavery current in the free states, they had been almost uniformly successful, but to array themselves against that sentiment, or to ignore the question altogether would mean an inevitable defeat. Any party ignoring the question was doomed to be ignored itself.⁸

The national Americans of Indiana were as a rule as much opposed to slavery extension as the opposing faction. Richard W. Thompson, of Terre Haute, and Milton Gregg, of New Albany, both declared they had no sympathy with slavery whatever and avowed their opposition to its extension.⁹ But they held that the great principles of Americanism should take precedence over the mere sectional issue. "One of the cardinal principles of the party in Indiana and the North," said Gregg in the *Tribune*, "is peace, prosperity and a desire to sink or ignore issues that disturb the harmony between North and South."¹⁰ Such a policy would never abolitionize the order nor would it make it pro-slavery.¹¹ The *Aurora Standard* thought the course of the American party should be, Union on the American question but on the slavery they (i. e., the different sections) must act apart.¹²

The result of the controversy was that Americanism thereafter received but a half hearted support from the *Indianapolis Journal* and the anti-slavery faction, who leaned more and more toward "straight" Republicanism. But the breach was not yet final.

American principles were freely and openly expressed as the need of secrecy disappeared. Newspapers were started with the avowed purpose of advocating Know Nothingism. The *Daily American*, started at Terre Haute, took for its motto, "Sam," brief but enormously expressive.¹³ Many other papers

1855. As the party entered national politics the need of a more dignified name than "Know Nothing" was felt.

⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 27, April 10, May 24, 1855.

⁹ *Madison Courier*, March 18, 1855.

¹⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 24, 1855.

¹¹ *New Albany Tribune*, May 16, 1855.

¹² *Indianapolis Journal*, June 6, 1855.

¹³ *Indianapolis Journal*, February 26, 1855.

now came out openly in support of the Americans.¹⁴ Later in the year the *Indianapolis Republican* was purchased by the Know Nothing state council with the purpose of making it a state organ. Reverend Samuel P. Crawford, a former Methodist minister of Dublin and the chaplain of the national council, was made the editor.¹⁵ In addition to the usual anti-Catholic and anti-foreign planks, the platforms put forward by these papers usually contained a specific plank advocating the extension of the term of residence before naturalization to twenty-one years, the same period of time that a native American had to spend here before he became a voter.¹⁶

The enemies of the Know Nothings attempted to imitate that feature of the movement which they had denounced as most objectionable. Early in 1855 a secret political society, popularly known as the "Sag Nichts" or "Say Nothings," was founded in Newport, Kentucky,¹⁷ or according to another account, in Ohio.¹⁸ Its object was to protect Catholics and foreigners and to secure their rights, especially at the polls.

¹⁴ The list of Know Nothing papers at this time included the *New Albany Tribune*, *Vevay Reveille*, *Aurora Standard*, *Fort Wayne Times*, *Bedford Standard*, *Salem True Flag*, *Evansville Journal*, *Vincennes Gazette*, *Terre Haute Wabash Courier*, *Terre Haute American*, *Greencastle Banner*, *Rising Sun Visitor*, *Terre Haute Express*, *Jeffersonville Republican*, *Indianapolis Indiana Republican*. Moderate supporters of Know Nothingism, but now more Republican than American, were the *Indianapolis Journal*, *Richmond Palladium*, *Newcastle Courier*, *Brookville Indiana American*.

¹⁵ *Richmond Jeffersonian*, July 5, 1855.

¹⁶ Following is a platform of principles (summarized) printed by the *Bedford White River Standard*, May 31, 1855, as the universally acknowledged principles of Americanism at the time (1855). They are also markedly anti-slavery in character.

1. Opposition to all forms of tyranny over the mind or body of man.
 2. Principles and character, not birthplace, are the true standard of qualification for citizenship.
 3. No adherent of any foreign power, either political or politico-ecclesiastical, should be eligible to naturalization.
 4. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, should exist in the territories. No more slave States should be admitted.
 5. Candidates for office should favor resisting the aggressions of slavery, popery and intemperance.
 6. All officers, as far as practicable, should be chosen by direct vote of the people.
 7. Persons of foreign birth should not be admitted to the ballot till they become citizens according to the Constitution and laws of the United States.
- See also the *Bedford White River Standard* for March 29, April 12, May 3, June 14, October 5, 1855; *Indianapolis Journal*, May 1, July 11, September 20, 1855; for expressions of American principles.
- ¹⁷ *Bedford White River Standard*, May 24, 1855.
- ¹⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, August 22, 1855.

Originally it consisted of foreigners, but was later joined by many Old Line Democrats and Whigs. Several such associations were formed in Indiana.¹⁹ It seems never to have amounted to much politically and the name "Sag Nichts" soon became a contemptuous term by which all Democrats were designated.

As the spring elections drew near the Democrats again made the Know Nothings their chief target. Lieutenant-Governor Willard and Governor Wright resumed their attacks.²⁰ The Democratic convention, held at Indianapolis, April 19, 1855, was known as the "Anti-Know Nothing" convention.²¹ To meet the attacks of their opponents the Know Nothings adopted new tactics. If a meeting were called to expose and denounce Know Nothingism it was drowned out by the shouts and yells of the Americans who gathered for that purpose.²² George W. Julian testifies to this fact also.

This happened in my own county and town, when thousands of men, including many of my old Free Soil brethren, assembled in an organized mob to suppress the freedom of speech; and they succeeded by brute force in taking possession of every building in which their opponents could meet, and silencing them by savage yells.²³

Such proceedings would not have taken place the year before when even the personnel of the Know Nothings was supposed to be secret, but men more openly avowed their connection with the movement at this time.

The Democrats at New Albany professed to fear Know Nothing violence in the election. Upon this plea, several of their candidates, William Weir, for mayor; Michael C. Kerr, for city attorney, and Augustus Bradley, for councilman, withdrew and left the field to the Americans.²⁴ In other cities the Know Nothings seem to have repeated their tactics of the previous year. Tickets were formed in secret conclave, renominated by fusion conventions and put out under the name of People's tickets.²⁵ Fusionists not in sympathy with the

¹⁹ Bedford *White River Standard*, April 19, 1855. New Albany *Ledger*, May 30, 1855. Indianapolis *Journal*, June 6, 1855.

²⁰ Indianapolis *Journal*, February 23, 1855.

²¹ Bedford *White River Standard*, April 19, 1855.

²² New Albany *Ledger*, June 6, 1855.

²³ Julian, *Recollections*, 142.

²⁴ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, April 20, 26, 1855.

²⁵ Richmond *Jeffersonian*, March 29, April 12, 1855.

Know Nothings might remonstrate against such dictation, but the latter were too strong for them.²⁶

As in 1854 no straight American tickets seem to have been nominated. But their relation to the People's party was clearly recognized, so that their victories were referred to indiscriminately as Know Nothing, Fusion or Republican successes. In the township election at Indianapolis the Fusion ticket was successful and the result was made known by the jubilant use of the pass word, "Have you seen Sam?"²⁷ A few weeks later their city ticket was defeated. "'Sam' must have been out picnicing."²⁸ The result was heralded as a Know Nothing defeat.²⁹ But the council was American, which caused it to be known as the Know Nothing council.³⁰

The Know Nothings, i. e., People's Party, carried New Albany and Richmond without opposition. There was little interest there for "Sams" reserved his strength for great occasions.³¹ "Sam's" ticket carried Terre Haute, Jeffersonville, Lawrenceburg, Lafayette, Logansport, Vevay, Greencastle, Laporte and other cities.³² "The Republicans gained over their vote of last fall. Our old line friends will learn by this that Sam is again convalescent."³³ The Democrats were successful at Evansville, Fort Wayne, Columbus, Madison and Rushville.³⁴ A curious feature of the Lawrenceburg election was that the Know Nothings supported and elected an Englishman and a German to office. This event was taken to prove that Know Nothingism was not proscriptive of all foreigners.³⁵

The Americans seemed to be sweeping the country. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and the southern states were the

²⁶ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, May 4, 1855. Indianapolis *Journal*, May 3, 1855.

²⁷ Indianapolis *Journal*, April 3, 1855.

²⁸ Madison *Courier*, May 9, 1855.

²⁹ New York *Times*, May 4, 1855.

³⁰ Indianapolis *Journal*, January 18, 1858.

³¹ Indianapolis *Journal*, May 4, 1855.

³² Indianapolis *Indiana Republican*, May 10, 1855. Bedford *White River Standard*, April 12, 19, 1855. Indianapolis *Sentinel*, April 10, 18, May 4, 7, 1855. Princeton *Democratic Clarion*, April 14, 1855. New Albany *Tribune*, April 10, May 9, 1855. New Albany *Ledger*, April 3, May 9, 16, 1855.

³³ Rushville *Republican*, May 9, 1855.

³⁴ New Albany *Ledger*, April 3, May 16, 1855. Rockport *Democrat*, April 21, 1855.

³⁵ New Albany *Tribune*, April 10, 1855.

scenes of Know Nothing success in state or municipal elections. Attention then centered on the Virginia election in May. Henry A. Wise, Democratic candidate for governor, made Know Nothingism the issue, and after a vigorous campaign defeated Flourney, the Know Nothing candidate.³⁶ This election marked the high tide of Know Nothingism. Uniformly successful until that time, it was the first of a series of defeats from which the movement never recovered. It was seen that the party in the south possessed only the old Whig strength, and in reality was little more than that party in disguise. The news of Wise's victory elated the Democracy of Indiana. Jollification meetings were held and the Know Nothings had recourse to their tactics of drowning them out by shouts and yells.³⁷ To show that they were not disheartened the Know Nothings, on May 30, held a meeting at the Bates House, at Indianapolis. Henry S. Lane, Godlove S. Orth, Solomon Meredith, Daniel Mace, Schuyler Colfax, Samuel W. Parker, David Kilgore and Erasmus Collins, the secretary of state, were the speakers. "Sam" in Indiana was not dead as a result of the Virginia election.³⁸

Throughout the north the order was under the control of anti-slavery men, just as it was pro-slavery in the south. It was foreseen that there would be a clash at the next session of the national council, which met in Philadelphia, June 5, 1855. Every state in the union, also the District of Columbia and the territory of Minnesota were represented, most of them by a full delegation of seven. For Indiana, appeared Godlove S. Orth, of Lafayette, the president of the order in Indiana; James R. M. Bryant, of Williamsport; J. S. Harvey, of Indianapolis; T. D. Allen; Thomas C. Slaughter, of Corydon; Schuyler Colfax,³⁹ of South Bend; and Will Cumback, of

³⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 29, 1855.

³⁷ *New Albany Ledger*, June 6, 1855.

³⁸ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 1, 1855. *New Albany Ledger* June 6, 1855.

³⁹ Colfax, like many others, afterwards maintained that he was never a member of the Know Nothing organization. But in a letter dated July 3, 1855, to him from E. W. Jackson of Concord, N. H., the following passage occurs: "You did not seek or solicit an initiation, but as I was authorized to do, I proffered to give you the 'work' and on your pledge of secrecy did so." Then, too, only third degree members could be admitted to national councils. Colfax concurred in many Know Nothing doctrines, but disapproved of secrecy, and of making a man's birthplace a test of his Americanism. He was selected as a delegate to the council without his knowledge or consent. He wrote his wife

Greensburg. In all there were about one hundred fifty delegates. The District of Columbia voted as a state, equalizing the sections, sixteen to sixteen..⁴⁰

There was a struggle over the admission of the delegations from Massachusetts and Louisiana, the former because of its Free Soil tendencies and the latter because it consisted largely of Catholics. The criticism of the Massachusetts delegation and of Henry Wilson in particular was bitter, but in the end they were admitted. The Catholics from Louisiana were rejected..⁴¹

On the seventh a banquet was given to the members of the council by the citizens of Philadelphia, over which Mayor Conrad presided. It was to be "national" in sentiment and anti-slavery was put under the ban. Schuyler Colfax wrote, "A great banquet is to be given to the delegates this afternoon. I have been selected to respond to 'the Press', but it is to be a 'Union-saving' affair, and I shall not go."⁴²

On the eighth a sharp struggle took place for the presidency of the council. E. B. Bartlett, of Kentucky, was elected over James W. Barker of New York, who was a candidate for re-election, but was set aside for a man more closely linked with southern interests..⁴³ C. D. Freeman of Pennsylvania, was elected vice-president; J. M. Stephens of Maryland, recording secretary; C. D. Deshler of New Jersey, corresponding secretary; H. Crane of Indiana, treasurer (Orth was also voted upon); and H. N. Rugg of Massachusetts, chaplain, (Rev. Samuel P. Crawford, of Indianapolis, was also voted for.)

All looked forward to the report of the committee on the platform, which consisted of one member from each state. On June 11 two sets of resolutions were reported. In committee, that of the majority received seventeen votes; that of the minority fourteen votes. The former were drawn up by Mr. Burwell, of Virginia, and submitted by Caleb Lyon, of New York. They denied the power of congress to abolish

that he feared the order would not come up to his platform—anti-slavery and the admission of protestant foreigners—"and in that case I might better for my own sake in the future be away than here." Hollister, *Life of Colfax*, 78-80.

⁴⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 5, 1855.

⁴¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 11, 1855. *Indianapolis Indiana Republican*, June 21, 1855.

⁴² Hollister, *Life of Colfax*, 78-79.

⁴³ Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, II, 426.

slavery in the territories, or to abolish it in the District of Columbia, and they demanded that the nation should maintain and abide by the existing laws on the subject. The text of the Burwell resolution was as follows:

Resolved, That the American party, having arisen upon the ruins and in spite of the opposition of the Whig and Democratic parties, cannot be held in any manner responsible for the obnoxious acts or violated pledges of either;—that the systematic agitation of the slavery question by those parties has elevated sectional hostility into a positive element of political power, and brought our institutions into peril. It has therefore become the imperative duty of the American party to interpose, for the purpose of giving peace to the country and perpetuity to the Union. That as experience has shown it as impossible to reconcile opinions so extreme as those which separate the disputants, and as there can be no dishonor in submitting to the laws, the National Council has deemed it the best guarantee of common justice and of future peace to abide by and maintain the existing laws upon the subject of slavery, as a final and conclusive settlement of that subject in spirit and in substance.

Resolved, That regarding it the highest duty to avow these opinions upon a subject so important, in distinct and unequivocal terms, it is hereby declared as the sense of this National Council, that Congress possesses no power under the Constitution to legislate upon the subject of Slavery in the States, or to exclude any State from the Union because her constitution does or does not recognize the institution of Slavery as a part of her social system; and expressly pretermittting any expression of opinion upon the power of Congress to establish or prohibit Slavery in any Territory. It is the sense of this National Council that Congress ought not to legislate upon the subject of Slavery within the Territories of the United States, and that any interference of Congress with Slavery as it exists in the District of Columbia would be a violation of the spirit and intention of the compact by which the State of Maryland ceded the district to the United States and a breach of the National Faith.⁴⁴

The minority report was written by Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield Republican, who however was not a delegate. and was presented by John W. Foster, of Massachusetts. It was signed by Schuyler Colfax, for Indiana, and by the representatives of thirteen other states. The text was as follows:

Resolved, That the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an infraction of the plighted faith of the Nation, and that it should be restored, and if efforts to that end shall fail, Congress should refuse to admit any State tolerating Slavery which shall be formed out of any

⁴⁴ Indianapolis Journal, June 15, 1855.

portion of the territory from which that Institution was excluded by that Compromise.⁴⁵

The debate on the reports began on June 11, and lasted all through the next two days.⁴⁶ The north and the south were pitted against each other, and for the first time in any political convention the north stood united and firm. New York alone, because Millard Fillmore and George Law were presidential possibilities, voted with the south. Although the proceedings were supposed to be kept secret, the news of the debate leaked out and were chronicled daily by the newspapers. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts; Will Cumback, of Indiana;⁴⁷ and Mr. Ford, of Ohio; vigorously attacked the majority report. Kenneth Raynor proposed a compromise which failed. All the Indiana delegates present voted against it. The Northern resolutions were rejected by a vote of fifty-one to ninety-two. The Southern were then adopted by a vote of eighty to fifty-nine. This victory of the pro-slavery men came upon June 13.⁴⁸

The next morning fifty-three of the northern delegates seceded and held a meeting with Henry Wilson as chairman. An *Appeal to the People*, reported by John W. Foster was adopted. It was as follows:

To the People of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of various States, assembled at Philadelphia on the 14th of June, 1855, feel constrained under the existing state of affairs to affirm the following principles:

1st. The unconditional restoration of that time honored Compromise, known as the Missouri Prohibition, which was destroyed in utter disregard of popular will—a wrong no lapse of time can palliate and no plea for its continuance can justify, and that we will use all constitu-

⁴⁵ Indianapolis *Journal*, June 15, 1855.

⁴⁶ Indianapolis *Indiana Republican*, June 21, 1855.

⁴⁷ Indianapolis *Journal*, June 16, 1855.

⁴⁸ Following is the vote of the Indiana delegation on Raynor's proposition, the majority report and the minority report:

	Raynor's	Compromise	Majority Report	Minority Report
Orth	No	No	No	Aye
Colfax	--	--	--	---
Cumback	--	--	--	---
Slaughter	No	No	No	Aye
Harvey	No	No	No	Aye
Allen	No	No	No	Aye
Bryant	--	--	--	Aye

From the *New York Times*, June 15, 1855. See also the *Indianapolis Journal*, June 16, 1855.

tional means to maintain a positive guarantee of that compact until the object for which it was enacted has been consummated by the admission of Kansas and Nebraska as free States.

2d. That the rights of settlers in territories to the free and undisturbed exercise of the elective franchise guaranteed to them by the laws, under which they are organized should be promptly protected by the National Executive whenever violated or threatened; and that we cannot conscientiously act with those who will not aid us in the correction of these national wrongs and who will not even permit their fair consideration and their full discussion.

3d. We further declare our continued and unalterable determination to use all honorable efforts to secure such modification of the naturalization laws, aided by such elevation of public sentiment as will preserve the true interest of the nation, and will guarantee the three vital principles of a Republican Government; SPIRITUAL FREEDOM, A FREE BIBLE and FREE SCHOOLS—thereby promoting the great work of Americanizing America.

4th. That we invoke the arm of Legislation to arrest that growing evil the deportation by foreign authorities, of paupers and convicts to our shores, and that as our National Constitution requires the Chief Executive of our country to be of native birth, we deem it equally necessary and important that our diplomatic representatives abroad should also possess no foreign prejudices to bias their judgment or to influence their official action.⁴⁹

This document was signed by the delegates of thirteen northern states: Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Wisconsin. All of the delegates from Indiana signed it.

In addition to signing the *Appeal to the People*, the delegates from Indiana laid before the council the following protest:

The undersigned delegates, representing the Council of the State of Indiana, respectfully protest against the platform adopted by the National Council at its present session, and beg leave to say that in regard to the measure known as the Kansas-Nebraska bill, neither those within the Council of the State of Indiana, nor the people, have awaited the action of the National Council in order to form their opinions.

Their opinions have been formed and avowed. An issue has been made with their political antagonists, and the soundness of those opinions tested in public debate and trial at the ballot box. The edicts of the National Council, however canonical they may be, will be powerless to change those opinions or to reverse the action of the people of Indiana.

⁴⁹ Indianapolis Journal, June 20, 1855; Wabash Intelligencer, June 20, 1855; Rockport Democrat, June 30, 1855.

Always conservative in their opinions and actions; always mindful of the Compromise of the Constitution of the United States; ardently devoted to the American Union, they will see with regret the promulgation of a platform by this body which can have no other effect than to increase the fury or the conflagration which the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill has lighted up.

The undersigned respectfully express their deliberate conviction that immediately upon the publication of the platform adopted, the Order in the State of Indiana will cease to acknowledge the authority of the National Council; and they respectfully ask that this protest may be received as a termination of their duties as delegates from that State.

James R. M. Bryant

J. S. Harvey

T. D. Allen

Godlove S. Orth

Thos. C. Slaughter

Schuyler Colfax

Will Cumback.⁵⁰

By this protest the personnel of the Indiana delegation was first made known. The presence of some of them in Philadelphia "on business" had aroused suspicion but they could no longer conceal their connection with the Order.

On the motion of Godlove S. Orth, a corresponding committee was appointed consisting of one from each of the eleven states represented in the seceders' convention. Orth was placed on the committee as Indiana's representative.⁵¹ Most of the northern delegates then left the council.

The secession of the minority did not prevent the majority from finishing its work. Many northern members remained in their seats and helped complete the platform.⁵² This proved to be a long document in which the Burwell resolutions were incorporated as the "twelfth section", and under that name they were afterward known in discussions. We shall see the disastrous results of the twelfth section upon the order. The Union degree had caused the withdrawal of many members from the councils. The pro-slavery twelfth section now led to the formal separation of several state councils from the national council. The council adjourned June 15, 1855.

The results of the Philadelphia convention were a distinct shock to the Americans in Indiana. The firm stand of the Indiana delegates met with the approval of the party as a

⁵⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 20, 1855; *Rockport Democrat*, June 30, 1855; *New Albany Tribune*, June 27, 1855; *New York Times*, June 15, 1855.

⁵¹ *New York Times*, June 15, 1855.

⁵² Text of the platform is given in the *Indianapolis Journal*, June 15, 1855; *Rockport Democrat*, June 30, 1855.

whole. They had voted against every compromise proposed with slavery and under the lead of Colfax, Orth, and Cumback won for the state the name of the "Massachusetts of her section."⁵³

Orth, Cumback, Colfax, Harvey, and Bryant, and all our delegates well merit the thanks of every true hearted friend of freedom in Indiana, for their manly and resolute action.⁵⁴

The Americans of Indianapolis met in council June 25 and passed a series of resolutions against slavery domination, approved the action of the northern delegates and endorsed the Indiana protest.⁵⁵ American, anti-Nebraska, and Republican meetings in many places expressed approval of the seceders.⁵⁶

The course pursued by the delegates from this State, to the Know Nothing National Convention recently held at Philadelphia, deserves the approbation of anti-slavery men of all parties,

ran a resolution of a Republican meeting in Dearborn county.⁵⁷

The only notable instances where the Americans seemed to endorse the platform occurred in Evansville and Jeffersonville. The American party in the former city⁵⁸ passed resolutions fully endorsing the platform, twelfth section and all, as did mass meetings in Jeffersonville and Clark county.⁵⁹

But a small minority of the American newspapers in the state supported the platform. "We are opposed to the slavery agitation in every form", the Evansville *Journal* expressed itself, "and we are therefore opposed to the course of the free-

⁵³ Indianapolis *Journal*, June 19, 1855.

⁵⁴ Indianapolis *Journal*, June 19, 1855.

⁵⁵ Following is a summary of the resolutions given in full by the Indianapolis *Journal* of July 6, 1855:

1. Approved the action of the northern delegates.
2. Rejoiced that the North had resolved to be respected in its rights.
3. The council would adopt the policy recommended by a State or Northern Grand Council.
4. Sympathy was expressed for the misrepresented brethren of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.
5. Resist slavery extension into Kansas and the other territories.
6. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise has released the North from all obligation to enforce the Fugitive Slave act.
7. The action of the Indiana delegates was fully approved.

⁵⁶ Indianapolis *Journal*, July 4, 1855; Rushville *Republican*, July 25, 1855.

⁵⁷ Indianapolis *Journal*, July 6, 1855.

⁵⁸ Bedford *White River Standard*, July 19, 1855.

⁵⁹ New Albany *Tribune*, July 4, 1855; New Albany *Ledger*, July 4, 1855.

soilers in the national convention. And yet we do not believe in yielding to the south one iota more than she can justly and by the constitution claim. . . . The members must be united If the freesoilers will not listen to reason. . . . let them take their course.”⁶⁰ The *Jeffersonville Republican* said, “In the national council Indiana was most shamefully misrepresented.”⁶¹ These two organs headed a short list who followed “Sam’s Banner—For the Union, the Whole Union and Nothing but the Union” and tried to create the impression that “Samuel is All Right, Wide Awake and Standing Up.”⁶²

The conservative *New Albany Tribune* endorsed the platform, with the exception of the twelfth section. It refused to endorse that section because: it favored acquiescing in the Nebraska swindle; omitted any expression of the power of congress to prohibit slavery in a territory; declared congress ought not legislate upon the subject of slavery in the territories; and declared, virtually, that the act of 1850 by abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia was a breach of national faith.⁶³ The *Bedford White River Standard*, a stout advocate of American principles, took somewhat the same stand.

With the exception of section XII we heartily endorse it But the twelfth section shall form no part of our political creed. We can never acquiesce in the principle attempted to be established by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. We can never submit to the overbearing spirit of the South, exhibited in her efforts to carry slavery into free territory. We can never succumb to the doctrine that Congress has no right to prohibit slavery in the territories or the District of Columbia In a word we shall never yield one jot or tittle towards an acknowledgment that slavery is anything but a curse, a blight, an infamy, a shame; and our right to constitutionally blot it from our escutcheons We expect to cooperate with the great American party we desire to be left free to entertain our own notions in reference to the twelfth section.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ *New Albany Tribune*, July 4, 1855; *Bedford White River Standard*, July 5, 1855.

⁶¹ *New Albany Tribune*, July 4, 1855.

⁶² *Indianapolis Journal*, July 16, 1855. The following papers endorsed the platform: *Evansville Journal*, *Jeffersonville Republican*, *Greencastle Banner*, *Vincennes Gazette*, *Terre Haute American*. See *Rockport Democrat*, July 21, 1855, and *New Albany Ledger*, July 11, 1855.

⁶³ *New Albany Tribune*, July 23, 1856.

⁶⁴ *Bedford White River Standard*, June 28, 1855.

The great majority of American papers whole-heartedly and without reserve gave their support to the action of the Indiana delegation and stood on the minority platform.⁶⁵ The *Aurora Standard* used the following plain and pointed language:

We are sorry to see such a rupture in the party; yet we cannot too highly commend the firmness and faithfulness of the withdrawing members.—They have done right; and even if their action in this matter should cause the downfall of the party they will receive the warmest thanks of Northern men. The time has come when a firm stand must be made against the aggressions of the South, and the American party may as well fall in the breach as any other. They have given us an exhibition of fidelity and firmness never before exhibited by the members of any party, and such as we could not hope to see upon the part of the Old Liners.⁶⁶

The number of such quotations might be multiplied indefinitely and no doubt they give a true expression of American sentiment.⁶⁷ They regarded the event as epoch making. The hint expressed in the above quotation that the American party might fall in the anti-slavery struggle was reflected in many other cases. It seemed as though there was but one path of duty for anti-slavery men in Indiana, and that was to stand upon the Fusion platform and labor for the success of that party.⁶⁸

The action of the Indiana delegates aroused the bitter disapproval of the south. The American party in the state was ignored by their southern brethren who spoke of it as “a rotten limb hewn off from the American party proper” by the

⁶⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 27, 1855. Other papers, that, like the *Bedford Standard* and the *New Albany Tribune*, wished to keep the slavery issue secondary to Americanism, were the *Corydon Argus*, *Cannelton Reporter* and *Terre Haute Courier*. See the *Indianapolis Journal*, June 27, 1855, for extracts from many other papers on this subject.

⁶⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 27, 1855.

⁶⁷ Following is a list of papers of American-Fusion politics that supported the action of the Indiana delegates: *Indianapolis Journal*, *South Bend Register*, *Fort Wayne Times*, *Terre Haute Express*, *Lawrenceburg Press*, *Decatur Press*, *Brookville Indiana American*, *Fountain Democrat*, *Danville Advertiser*, *New Castle Courier*, *Laporte Union*, *Indianapolis Indiana Republican*, *Aurora Standard*, *Rushville Republican*, *Park County Republican*, *Lafayette Journal*, *Lafayette Courier*, *Lafayette Gazette*, *Richmond Palladium*, *Madison Courier*, *Vernon Banner*, *Valparaiso Observer*, *Randolph County Journal*, *Delphi Journal*, *Portland Journal*, *Howard Tribune*, *Muncie Messenger*, *Bedford White River Standard*. See the *Indianapolis Journal*, June 27, 1855; *New Albany Ledger*, July 11, 1855; and *Rockport Democrat*, July 21, 1855.

⁶⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 27, 1855, from the *Union Herald*.

Grand Council at Philadelphia.⁶⁹ They had indeed broken the oath of the third degree by refusing to ignore the slavery question and subordinate every issue to "Unionism."

While the convention at Philadelphia was in session, that of a new movement, an offshoot of Know Nothingism, was held. Many of those Know Nothings who had been driven out of the lodges by what seemed to them proscriptive, pro-slavery, third degree movements of the party during the previous winter, had formed a rival organization known as the "Know Somethings."⁷⁰ It was anti-slavery in character and did not proscribe foreigners.⁷¹ The movement strove for national expansion and secured a foothold in several states, but failed to gain any great strength. This party held its convention at Cleveland, Ohio, June 14, 1855. Indiana was represented by H. W. Clark and Rawson Vaile, editor of the *Indianapolis Journal*, a former Free Soiler and Know Nothing. The Know Somethings hoped that the seceders from the Philadelphia convention would join their ranks, but they were disappointed. They then voted to dispense with secrecy; put out a platform in which anti-slavery, nativist, and temperance planks were prominent; and decided not to act independently in politics but with the Republican party.⁷²

A state Anti-Slavery convention was held at Indianapolis, June 27, 1855. The question of Know Nothingism was injected into the discussion by George W. Julian, who made it the chief theme of his address.⁷³ He opposed all cooperation with the Know Nothings because of their non-committal attitude upon the slavery question and denounced them as proscriptive and intolerant. S. S. Harding, of Ripley county, and Rawson Vaile replied, defending the Know Nothings against the charges. The approval manifested by the convention showed that a large proportion of those present were either members of the order or sympathizers with them.⁷⁴

In the early part of 1855, a more liberal spirit began to pervade Know Nothingism. The *Know Nothing Crusader*,

⁶⁹ *Madison Courier*, Nov. 14, 1855.

⁷⁰ *New York Times*, June 14, 1855.

⁷¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, April 24, 1855.

⁷² *Richmond Jeffersonian*, June 21, 1855; *New York Times*, June 14, 16, 1855.

⁷³ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 18, 20, 1855; *Terre Haute Union*, March 3, 1857.

⁷⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 28, July 2, 1855; Julian, *Speeches*, 113.

New York *Express*, Philadelphia *Sun*, and other American newspapers began a campaign to do away with secrecy.⁷⁵ The novelty of the mystery had worn away and what may have seemed necessary to the movement during its weakness was not needful in its strength. The order in Pennsylvania and Delaware declared for an open organization.⁷⁶ The first open meeting was held at Stuyvesant Institute in New York City. After an open declaration of American principles it was adjourned with "three cheers for the first full length view of Sam." The Know Nothings felt that one of the principal objections to their order was removed.⁷⁷

At the same time the doors were opened to protestant foreigners more freely than ever.⁷⁸ Even the Catholic test was abolished in Virginia, South Carolina, and other states. It had been ignored in Louisiana and California from the beginning.⁷⁹ The only local move toward admitting Catholics was in Knox county. In view of the three hundred French Catholics in and about Vincennes, who had always voted the Whig ticket, there was an agitation to dispense with the religious test.⁸⁰ This liberalizing tendency was reflected in the action of the next state council.

As in the previous year the state council was called to meet upon the eve of the Fusion convention. The Americans evidently intended to repeat their tactics and again secure control of the Fusion party. The convention of the latter was called to meet at Indianapolis, Friday, July 13, 1855, the anniversary of the Ordinance of 1787, for the purpose of a more thorough organization. Affixed to the call were the signatures of Godlove S. Orth, still president of the Know Nothing state council, Will Cumback, Milton Gregg, William J. Peaslee, David Kilgore, Schuyler Colfax, and many other prominent Americans.⁸¹

The American state council met at the same place July 11-12, 1855. It was generally understood that an attempt

⁷⁵ New Albany *Ledger*, March 28, 1855; Madison *Courier*, March 28, 1855.

⁷⁶ Bedford *White River Standard*, March 29, 1855.

⁷⁷ Indianapolis *Journal*, June 6, 1855; Indianapolis *Indiana Republican*, June 7, 1855.

⁷⁸ Indianapolis *Journal*, June 9, 1855; Richmond *Jeffersonian*, March 20, 1856.

⁷⁹ New Albany *Ledger*, May 23, 1855.

⁸⁰ Rockport *Democrat*, Sept. 22, 1855.

⁸¹ Indianapolis *Journal*, June 27, July 3, 1855.

would be made to endorse the action of the delegates at the last grand council and form an open state organization.⁸² Any move to endorse such an anti-slavery program was opposed by the county councils of Vigo, Vanderburg, and a few other counties where the straight Americans predominated. The Vigo county council passed the following resolution which shows the temper of that faction:

Resolved: That our delegates be instructed to vote and use his influence in the State Council, to ignore the slave question entirely, and to vote for no platform which has anything to do with the subject in any form.⁸³

The first session of the state council took place on July 11. Officers were elected, William Sheets, of Indianapolis, succeeding Godlove S. Orth as president.⁸⁴ The action of the Indiana delegates to the national council was approved.⁸⁵ Although there was opposition to the motion it was made unanimous. In the same way the southern pro-slavery platform was unanimously rejected. The council declared itself entirely disconnected from the national grand council, but although severing all connection with that body, it preserved its own organization intact and separate from the Republican party.⁸⁶ The injunction to secrecy was removed and the proceedings were ordered to be made public.⁸⁷

On the twelfth, a platform of principles was adopted⁸⁸ which liberalized the order to some extent, making it more in consonance with the true sentiment of the members in the state. The platform was extended so as to take in all native born and naturalized citizens except Roman Catholics. Further resolutions favored the restoration of the Missouri Compromise; opposed the extension of slavery; opposed any alteration of the existing temperance law; favored the alteration of that section of the constitution of the state which per-

⁸² *New Albany Ledger*, July 4, 1855, from the *Aurora Standard*.

⁸³ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 17, 1855; *Richmond Jeffersonian*, July 26, 1855.

⁸⁴ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 7, 1855.

⁸⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 14, 1855; *Madison Courier*, July 18, 1855. *Logansport Journal*, July 21, 1855; *New Albany Tribune*, July 18, 1855; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 17, 20, 1855; *Princeton Clarion*, July 21, 1855; *New Albany Ledger*, July 18, 1855; *Bedford White River Standard*, July 19, 1855.

⁸⁶ *Madison Courier*, Oct. 31, 1855.

⁸⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 14, 1855.

⁸⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 17, 1855; *Indianapolis Indiana Republican*, July 19, 1855; *Brookville Indiana American*, Oct. 12, 1855.

mits aliens to vote after a residence of six months and a declaration of intention to become a citizen; and refused to support anyone for office who acknowledged the existence of a politico-ecclesiastical power superior to the president of the United States. The unity of the party, and even the nativist principles were made subordinate to the question of the restoration of the barrier against the further advance of the slave power.

But the repudiation of the old national features of the platform was not carried out with harmony. In fact it was done in the face of much violent opposition. It was said that the delegates of fifteen counties seceded from the council because of this action.⁸⁹ When the result was made known, it was a bitter disappointment to the national Americans. "What right had they to absolve the party from all connection with the national council? What is to become of our pledges to stand by the Union?" said the Greencastle *Banner*. That paper regretted the course taken and claimed the abolitionists had gained control. Another Know Nothing paper, the Evansville *Journal*, predicted that the platform would help carry Indiana but would work against them in the national election.⁹⁰ The Vigo county council which had instructed its delegate to ignore the slavery question entirely and had in turn seen its wishes ignored, now repudiated the action of the state council. It passed resolutions not to follow the state council in its act of secession from the national council, but declared it would maintain its organization in support of the principles declared by the latter; and that it was tired of the whole slavery agitation.⁹¹ Likewise the American party of Evansville passed resolutions announcing its determination to stand on the Philadelphia platform.⁹² The Cannelton *Reporter*, on the ground that the abolitionists of northern Indiana were in control, discarded the proceedings of the state council "in toto." The Corydon *Argus* and the Vincennes *Gazette* also opposed the action of the state council.

The Democrats rejoiced at the new dissensions within the American party. They announced that the order had com-

⁸⁹ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, July 25, 1855.

⁹⁰ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, July 20, 1855.

⁹¹ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, July 23, 1855; New Albany *Ledger*, July 24, 1855.

⁹² Indianapolis *Sentinel*, July 31, 1855.

pletely abolitionized itself and looked upon the secession as a virtual disbanding of the organization.⁹³

Yet the great majority of the American party heartily approved the proceedings of the state council. The opposition was confined entirely to the southern and southwestern portions of the state. The majority regarded the liberalizing of the order as a great advance, as an end of useless proscription, and the position taken on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as a brave stand against pro-slavery dictation.

In fact the state council of 1855 marks the end of the original character of Know Nothingism in the state. The slavery question which threatened the order from the beginning had gradually broken down the nationalism of the movement. The day of mystery and secrecy was past and with it departed much of the dread and fear which it inspired. Thereafter the American party was regarded as but little different in character from the other parties. It was looked upon as conservative rather than proscriptive. The connection between the anti-slavery wing and the Republicans became continually closer, while the national or straight Americans received less and less consideration from the other factions of the opposition.

The Fusion convention met at Indianapolis, July 13, 1855.⁹⁴ As in the previous year the Know Nothings played a prominent part. Judge Charles Test, of Wayne, who had been associated with them in 1854, was called upon to preside. B. R. Sulgrove was one of the secretaries. Milton Gregg, David Kilgore, and Lucien Barbour were among the eleven vice-presidents. The principal speech was made by General Henry Wilson, the Know Nothing from Massachusetts, who had led the northern delegates in their secession from the last grand council. Although the slavery question was the chief topic of his address, he openly expounded and defended the principles of Americanism. A state central committee of fifteen members was formed upon which several Know Nothings acted, namely, J. S. Harvey, Rawson Vaile, and Lucien Barbour, of Marion county; Milton Gregg,

⁹³ *Lebanon Boone County Pioneer*, Sept. 22, 1855; *Rockport Democrat*, July 21, 1855.

⁹⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 14, 1855.

of Floyd, Solomon Meredith, of Wayne; and John W. Dawson, of Allen. A platform of resolutions was adopted. Since secrecy had been abolished in the order there was no objection to an open avowal of American principles, so the following plank was incorporated:

Resolved, That both experience and the unmistakable manifestations of a just public sentiment demand a change of the Constitution and laws of this State so as to limit the elective franchise to such persons as are actual citizens of the United States, either by birth or by a full and final conformity with the laws on the subject of naturalization.⁹⁵

At this time there was very little difference between the Indiana Americans and Republicans. Of course, the extreme abolitionists and the straight Americans never could become reconciled but both were minority factions in their respective parties. There was really no middle wall of partition between the order and the People's party.⁹⁶ The *Indiana Republican*, the Know Nothing central organ, actively supported all Republican movements. It actually treated the two parties as one and the same organization.⁹⁷ The *Indianapolis Journal*, although now identified more with Republicanism than with Know Nothingism, openly advocated a complete union, or at least a harmonious cooperation on the ground that there was no real difference in principle between them. The proscriptive features of the order had been abolished, the two parties stood together on the slavery question, and the Republicans accepted nativist principles in a mild form at least.⁹⁸ The Republicans openly proposed to make such a change in the constitution of Indiana as would prevent the voting of aliens,⁹⁹ and that policy was specifically declared to be Republicanism.¹⁰⁰ Many Republicans openly declared their adherence to Know Nothing principles but did not see the use of a political party to gain them. They believed the principles of Protestantism too sacred to Americans to be appropriated by a single party.¹⁰¹ The Republicans would gladly have the

⁹⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 14, 1855.

⁹⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 17, 1855.

⁹⁷ *Indianapolis Indiana Republican*, Sept. 6, 1855.

⁹⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 11, 1855.

⁹⁹ *Brookville Indiana American*, Dec. 7, 1855.

¹⁰⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 20, 1855.

¹⁰¹ *Brookville Indiana American*, Nov. 2, 1855.

slight barriers separating the two parties discarded and would "rejoice to see the day when Republican, Know Nothing, and Know Something can stand openly and unitedly on a truly American platform."¹⁰² Others sensed the situation more accurately when they predicted that the Republican movement would swallow up and concentrate all the opposition.¹⁰³

The Americans too were moderating in their demands. A naturalization period of five years was generally advocated, even by the *New Albany Tribune*, the "straightest of the sect", instead of the longer term of twenty-one years demanded formerly.

The order of United Americans was introduced into Indiana in the fall of 1855¹⁰⁴ A few lodges of this nativist secret society were established but they did not flourish. The order of the Star Spangled Banner itself was not able to prevent its own decline, so there was no room for a second society.

A number of great election riots occurred in 1855 between Know Nothings and their opponents, chiefly foreigners. In the August election at Louisville more than twenty persons were killed.¹⁰⁵ Although the responsibility for these acts was disputed, the Know Nothings received the blame and the Democrats made political capital out of it, throughout the fall campaign. In the press and in county conventions the latter denounced them bitterly.¹⁰⁶ Governor Wright declared before the Democratic state convention that any attempt by Know Nothings in Indiana to drive Democrats away from the polls would be forcibly resisted. A plank was put in the platform, which declared hostility to secret political societies and deplored the scenes of riot, outrage, arson, and murder caused by their members.¹⁰⁷ Governor Wright and other Democratic speakers who stumped the state made the Know Nothings their chief target.

For most of the county elections the Americans and Republicans formed joint tickets. The tickets thus constituted

¹⁰² *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 22, 1855.

¹⁰³ *Logansport Journal*, July 21, 1855.

¹⁰⁴ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Oct. 27, 1855.

¹⁰⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 8, 1855.

¹⁰⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 22, 1855.

¹⁰⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 30, 1855.

were referred to indiscriminately as Republican, People's, and American. In Wayne county the Americans nominated by popular vote.¹⁰⁸ Godlove S. Orth was nominated for judge of Tippecanoe county by the Americans and Republicans. His standing with the latter was not hurt by the fact that his name at the time was signed to the call for the next American convention. In Harrison county the Know Nothings nominated Walter Q. Gresham for clerk.¹¹⁰ A Know Nothing, William Wallace, was nominated for mayor of Indianapolis.¹¹¹ The Americans of Dearborn county showed their more liberal views, as they had in the spring, by supporting an Englishman and an Irishman for office.¹¹²

The Americans conducted no campaign of their own except in the southern portion of the state. Their demonstrations took the form of grand outdoor mass meetings and barbecues. Great rallies were held at Paoli, Corydon, New Albany, Charleston, and Seymour.¹¹³ The American orators were Colonel William A. Bowles of Paoli, David O. Dailey, of Jeffersonville, David T. Laird, Thomas C. Slaughter, and G. P. R. Wilson, of Harrison county, John M. Wilson, of New Albany, William Sheets, of Indianapolis, and General Pilcher, of Louisville. Most of them avoided the slavery issue entirely.

In the elections the Democrats were universally successful. Many counties which had given fusion majorities in 1854 now returned Old Liners to office. The American strength in Ohio, Switzerland, Jefferson, Jennings, Floyd, and some others was sufficient to give victory to the People's tickets there.¹¹⁴ It was a poor year for "Sam" in Indiana, although at the same time he was winning great victories in Massachusetts, New York, Kentucky, Tennessee, and other southern states.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ *Richmond Jeffersonian*, July 5, 1855.

¹⁰⁹ *Indianapolis Indiana Republican*, Sept. 20, 1855.

¹¹⁰ *New Albany Ledger*, June 27, 1855.

¹¹¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 26, 1855; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Oct. 8, 1855.

¹¹² *Bedford White River Standard*, Sept. 6, 1855.

¹¹³ *Bedford White River Standard*, Aug. 9, 23, Oct. 11, 1855; *New Albany Tribune*, Aug. 22, Sept. 12, 26, 1855; *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 10, Sept. 13, 1855.

¹¹⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 11, 1855; *Bedford White River Standard*, Oct. 18, 25, 1855; *New Albany Tribune*, Oct. 17, 1855; *Indianapolis Indiana Republican*, Sept. 20, 1855.

¹¹⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 8, Nov. 9, Dec. 1, 7, 1855.

The committee of correspondence, appointed at a meeting of the delegates seceding from the last grand council, issued a call dated August 21, 1855, to the American party authorizing state and local councils to send delegates to a national convention, which was to be held at Cincinnati, November 21.¹¹⁶ The committee desired to see represented all who favored religious and political liberty; opposed the importation of foreign paupers and criminals; favored an extended period of naturalization; and wished for a restoration of the Missouri Compromise. It was signed by Godlove S. Orth, the member for Indiana, and by the representatives of eleven other northern states.

The purpose of the convention was generally understood to be the reorganization of the Know Nothing Order in the north upon an anti-slavery basis—to secure the consent of the states that freedom should be national and slavery, sectional. The question of presidential candidates was not to be considered.¹¹⁷

The convention met at Cincinnati, November 21, 1855. Fifty-two delegates were present from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Vermont, and Wisconsin, representing one hundred four electoral votes. The Indiana delegation consisted of seven members, J. C. Moody of Floyd county, Elias Thomasson of New Albany, William Sheets of Indianapolis, the president of the state council, John M. Dawson, editor of the *Fort Wayne Times*, A. P. Cobb, James Hock, and M. S. Robinson.¹¹⁸

The convention organized by the appointment of General Williamson, of Pennsylvania, chairman, and W. W. Dannehower, of Illinois, secretary.¹¹⁹ All were excluded from the hall except third degree members of the order. The strictest secrecy was observed but an official report of the proceedings was published daily. William Sheets acted on the committee on credentials and J. C. Moody on the committee on permanent organization. Thomas H. Ford, of Ohio, was elected permanent president, with S. M. Allen, of Massachusetts, and

¹¹⁶ Text of the call in the *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 22, 1855; *Madison Courier*, Aug. 29, 1855; *Indianapolis Indiana Republican*, Aug. 30, 1855.

¹¹⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 22, 1855.

¹¹⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 24, 1855; *New Albany Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1855.

¹¹⁹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 23, 1855.

William Sheets as vice-presidents. The latter escorted the president to the chair.

The question of the platform absorbed much of the interest of the convention. John W. Dawson, of the Indiana delegation, offered a resolution proposing to expunge the twelfth section of the Philadelphia platform, and substitute in its stead a declaration that slavery is not a national but a sectional issue, and must be settled as such by the states.¹²⁰ It was referred to the committee on resolutions.

J. C. Moody offered a resolution to repeal all rituals, tests of membership, etc., leaving all regulations to the organization in each. It was laid on the table.¹²¹

The committee on resolutions, of which Sheets was a member, offered two platforms, a majority and a minority report. The latter was not extreme, either of Americanism or anti-slavery. It proposed to exclude slavery from the national territories. The majority platform proposed to go into convention with the south next February and in place of the existing twelfth section, to gain the substitution of a plank calling for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise; if that failed congress should refuse to admit into the union any state tolerating slavery, which should be formed out of any portion of the territory from which that institution was excluded by the compromise. The platform further provided that: the several state councils could admit to membership all citizens who were eligible to office under section eight of the national platform; protested against coalescence with any party which demanded the postponement or abandonment of American principles; and requested the president of the national council to call a meeting of the same at Philadelphia, on the 19th of the next February.¹²²

This platform was adopted by a vote of ninety-six to eleven, each state delegation having a vote equal to its electoral vote. All the Indiana representatives voted for it. This shows the reactionary character of the convention. The seceding body was making overtures and proposing a reconciliation to those who had given them offense. To go into con-

¹²⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 23, 1855; *Richmond Jeffersonian*, May 15, 1856.

¹²¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 23, 1855; *New Albany Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1855.

¹²² *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 24, 1855; *Rockport Democrat*, Dec. 15, 1855; *New Albany Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1855; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Nov. 27, 1855.

vention with the south would be a waste of time so far as any hope of compromise favorable to the north was concerned. The effort of the free state delegates to get back into the national council, no matter what their motive was, would undoubtedly be construed as a confession of being in the wrong and would confirm the south in refusing again. The Indiana men were in sympathy with the majority. The absence of men with strong anti-slavery principles, such as Colfax, Cumback and Orth and the other original seceders, was noticeable.

The Know Nothing organization seemed to be at the point of crumbling to pieces at the end of the year 1855. Many of the councils were disbanding.¹²³ Hundreds of their members withdrew and openly declared their connection with the order at an end.¹²⁴ The politicians who had rushed into the order to control it now as suddenly rushed out again. It now seemed probable that the organization, which in 1854 was regarded as certain to carry the state in the next presidential election, would not be able to make a respectable contest in the election of 1856. The slavery question had played havoc with "Sam's" plans.

¹²³ For example see the Indianapolis *Sentinel* of Dec. 5, 1855, for the following, taken from the Lafayette *Courier*: "Messrs. Editors:—At a meeting of the Star City Council held at the council room on Saturday evening, Dec. 1, 1855, on motion it was resolved that we surrender our charter to the power from whence it came, and disband our secret organization.

STEPHEN STAFFORD,
Secretary pro tem."

¹²⁴ Lebanon *Boone County Pioneer*, Oct. 6, 1855; Rockport *Democrat*, Dec. 8, 1855; Indianapolis *Journal*, Apr. 5, 1856; Madison *Courier*, Apr. 2, 1856.

(To be Continued.)

The McGowan Murder at Hindostan

By WILLIAM MCGOWAN, Oaktown

In the year 1787 my grandfather, McGowan with several others embarked on the Ohio river from Washington county, Pennsylvania, for Au Post (now Vincennes); among the company were Jonathan and William Purcell and their families. They proceeded down the river to the falls where Louisville now stands, without accident or molestation. Landing there, a part of the company with the women and children packed the horses with such things as were needed for the journey, my mother, the child of one of the Purcells, being eight years old. They followed an Indian trace [Vincennes trace] to Au Post, while the balance of the party ran the boat to the mouth of the Wabash river. At Au Post the men of the overland party procured help with pirogues, the largest up-stream craft then in use, and went down the Wabash to the Ohio, where they met the balance of the party and in this way conveyed their belongings up the Wabash to their new home at Au Post.

They were among the first American citizens of that place. At this time my father, John Patrick McGowan was eighteen years of age, he learned his trade of gunsmith with Colonel [John] Small, at Au Post.

After my father and mother were married they lived for some time in the village, my father working for the Indian agent, Thomas Jones, at his trade of making guns. While here an Indian named Pop in Dick, who was partly brought up by Mr. Jones became very meddlesome about the shop. On one occasion he stepped on a piece of hot iron, and severely burned his foot, which made him very angry at my father, who was in no wise to blame. This same Indian afterward killed my father.

In the year 1805, on September 29, I was born six miles northeast of Vincennes, but all during my infancy we lived in Vincennes.

In the year 1808 or 1809 my father built and made improvements and established a ferry on the east fork of White river, about one mile below where Mt. Pleasant now stands [Hindostan]. Our nearest neighbors were at Lick Creek, near where Paoli now stands in Orange county; there were a few families near Washington, Davis county. Shortly after my father settled here, a man by the name of Boggs built a cabin at or near where Mt. Pleasant now stands, a creek running into White river still retains his name.

About the year 1810 Levi Kinman, his wife and younger brother, Jeremiah, built a cabin on the opposite side of the river from my father's. My father got his help to roll his logs and raise his building from Vincennes, our breadstuff was brought up from Vincennes, but our meat consisted of bear, deer and wild turkey. On this, with hominy and wild honey, we lived fat and fine. After we were well established my father opened a house of entertainment for travelers.

I remember when the people called Shakers moved to the prairie which still bears their name. I recollect when Captain [Spier] Spencer's company, "the Yellow Jackets" stayed at my father's house all night, in 1811, on their way to join General Harrison's army. About this time the Indians became very hostile and our neighbor, Boggs and family, were killed. Their house was afterward occupied by a family named Dunham and later by people named Prior.

During this time the Indians committed many depredations on the frontier and the travelers. So, for their better security, the settlers built forts after this manner. After felling the trees, logs were cut 12 to 15 feet long, the upper end was sharpened, then a ditch was dug and these logs were set up close together in it, the dirt was then packed tightly on each side, making a stockade surrounding the largest house, on the best site which would be on an elevation, affording a clear view for some considerable distance. To this house was added other houses so as to accommodate the whole neighborhood. Into these forts the settlers took their effects. Among the names I recollect are Forts Curry, Ochiltree, Purcell, McClure and Decker in Knox county. When Fort Harrison was besieged, Purcell's fort concentrated their forces

with McClure's fort, both sites are in what is now Washington township.

In one of these forts there was a pious man, who every evening called the inhabitants to prayer. While engaged in prayer for their protection through the night, the Indians drew near and while they listened to the earnest pleadings of these followers of the Most High, He that said "Touch not mine annointed, and do my prophets no harm," put it into the hearts of those Indians to turn aside from that place, they crossed the Wabash river and attacked another fort in the dead hour of night. (This was the testimony of an Indian after the war closed). While the Indians were committing depredations two families that I remember, Bogard and Hathaway, were attacked while moving at what is now called Steele's Prairie, some of them were killed, others were saved by their teams running away.

In 1812 my father's house and Hawkin's on the west fork of White river, were stations for a small company of rangers. They passed from one station to the other every day so that each station had guard only every other night, they not having a sufficient number to divide. When they left our house one morning, they said that night would be the last that we would be left without a guard. But, oh, fatal night. Our house was attacked by the Indians, my father was killed in his bed, while my mother and an infant sister were in the bed with him. The Indians then made an assault on the house of our neighbor just across the river, but the two Kinmans with a youth by the name of McGuire, held them off with their guns and dogs so that they soon left. This was in May, 1812. The next day the rangers came, wrapped my father's remains in a sheet, laid him on a puncheon taken from the floor and buried him a few rods from the river bank. The Indian Pop-in-Dick, who killed my father, was found to be a leader in assaults on the settlers, for in his absence from Vincennes there were always depredations committed. Before the war closed, this Indian was killed by Tom White, at Fort Harrison. In a few days after my father was killed, my uncles Purcell and Balthis, came and moved us away from the ill-fated spot, to Purcell's fort, which was seven miles northeast of Vincennes, where we lived until the assault on

Fort Harrison when, for our better security we moved to McClure's fort. About this time two of the Milton boys, being away from their fort, were attacked by the Indians, one was killed, the other supposed to have been captured.

Through all these perilous times the people stood firm and true to each other and our homely fare was free to all that saw fit to partake at our tables.

While living at our home on White river, the Indians drove off our cows, taking them into the vicinity of Vincennes. If it had not been for a young man who worked for my uncle, named Jacob Quick, who saw and knew the cows, it is likely we would never have seen them again, but he got a company of neighbors together and they went after the cows and recovered them for us.

Our school-houses were built of logs and covered with boards, with poles to weight them down, they were ceiled with poplar poles split, with the split side turned down, the upper side was covered with mortar, to exclude the air. The floors were made of puncheons split from trees, hewn till they were smooth. The windows were made by cutting away half of two logs, nearly the length of the house, putting them in the wall with the faces opposite, setting in split sticks about four inches apart, and covering them with greased paper to prevent its getting wet and to admit more light. The seats were made of split logs, the four logs being inserted in holes bored in the ends.

The writing desks were made of slabs or puncheons the same as the floor, and were fastened to the wall under the window. Our books were few and hard to obtain. Our tuition was paid by our parents, there being no school fund for us in those days.

The first plow that I used was called the bar-shear, with a wooden mould board, and a bar two feet or more long.

The next was the Carie or half-wooden mould board, which we thought was a great improvement. I remember the first one was owned by Noah Purcell, and the farmers went to see it, as one of the great wonders of the day.

For grain and grass cutting we have advanced from the scythe and the sickle, to the reaper and the mower. From treading out grain with horses and cleaning with sheet and

wooden riddle, we have threshers and separators of various models, and instead of broadcast sowing we plant our seed with the drill.

I recollect when Vincennes had but one brick house and that was General Harrison's. The brick was made by Samuel Thompson, in payment for the land now owned by Samuel Thompson, Jr., and Bradway Thompson. The second brick house was the Seminary. The third was built by Charles Smith, this was later known as the Broadway tavern.

The first steam mill was built by Fellows & Co. Samuel Thompson made the brick for the furnace. I helped to haul them to the Wabash river when we boated them to the building site.

The first Presbyterian minister at Vincennes was Samuel T. Scott. I recollect several of the first Methodist circuit riders whose headquarters were at Vincennes, these were Schrader, Richards, Posey and James McCord. The first Baptist minister was Isaac McCoy afterwards missionary to the Indians at Fort Wayne.

How changed the scene in the last half century. Vincennes has become a city, churches and schools have advanced. Keeping pace with the general prosperity of our state. Many of those who in youth endured the dangers and privations of the pioneer have passed away, but few of us are left. Our heads are white with the frosts of many winters. Soon we, too, must pass away, but while our outward man must perish, and return to mother dust, may our inward life be renewed from day to day so that we may be ready when the summons shall come.¹

May 27, 1874.

¹ This article was furnished by Mrs. C. B. Robbins, of Oaktown, Ind., whose husband was the great-grandson of the murdered man. It was prepared for and read at an old settlers' meeting in Vincennes.

Historical News

By the INDIANA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

The annual spring meeting of the Henry County historical society was held in Newcastle, Thursday, April 27. An all-day program had been arranged, including the usual big dinner which always forms a valuable part of the historical program. The Henry County historical society is one of the few in the state that owns its own home. Several years ago the society purchased the home of General Grose, and it has been converted into a historical museum. Under the direction of Clarence H. Smith, recently appointed curator, the historical society has grown greatly in membership, and the museum collection is rapidly becoming one of the best in Indiana. Over two hundred persons attended the annual spring meeting.

The Carroll County historical society held its first public meeting on Friday night, April 28. One of the special features of the program was a large painting giving an artist's view of pioneer Carroll county. It depicted the coming of the white settlers into Carroll county, the deportation of the Potawattomie Indians, the opening up of the first white settlements, and contained a list of the first settlers in the county. A valuable collection of pioneer relics furnished by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Buckley was on display. Talks by Mrs. John W. Ballard of Logansport on Songs of the Pioneers, and by Dr. John W. Oliver on The Value of the Study of Local History were given. Special plans for organization of township historical committees are being carried on throughout Carroll county.

Of the county historical societies in Indiana, none are doing more valuable work than the Jefferson County society. Its membership is over three hundred, with annual dues of one dollar (\$1.00). The old Lanier home, recently converted into an historical museum, is visited by more than five hundred people yearly. Among some of the most valuable collections housed in the museum are: Copy of first issue of the *Western*

Eagle, dated May 5, 1813, Madison, Indiana Territory; a copy of the New York *Daily Gazette*, May 1, 1789, containing an account of Washington's first inauguration as President; a copy of the *Madison Museum*, 1832, probably the first literary periodical in Indiana; the original marriage certificate of Sarah Tittle Barrett and Nathaniel Bolton, 1832; minute book of the Bronte Club, the second woman's club in America, founded by Mrs. Constance Fauntleroy Runcie, 1867; documents bearing the original signatures of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, Abraham Lincoln, Oliver P. Morton and others. Jefferson county is also one of the leading counties in conducting the archaeological and historical survey. Mrs. Michael C. Garber, president, is in charge of collecting its valuable historical material.

The Marshal Foch Day Volume issued by the Indiana Historical Commission has come from the press and been distributed. In this volume is to be found a report of all the exercises held in Indianapolis during Marshal Foch's visit, November 4, 1921. A report of all the addresses made on that day, an account of the different meetings held, pictures and photographs of the parade, and other public exercises given in the Marshal's honor, are included in the publication. A copy of the publication has been placed in each of the public libraries in Indiana, and in the high school libraries.

On Saturday, April 8th, a meeting celebrating the centennial anniversary of the establishment of the Decatur County bar association, was held in Greensburg. Judge John F. Goddard, president of the Decatur County historical society, and Judge John R. Carney of Vernon, president of the Jennings County historical society, were responsible for this historical celebration. Judges and prominent members of the bar residing in the Fourth district attended this meeting, at which papers were read recounting a century's growth in the legal profession in that part of Indiana.

A joint meeting of the historical societies of St. Joseph, Laporte, Porter, and Lake counties, was held on Sunday after-

noon, June 18th, in connection with the Dune summer camp program on the shores of Lake Michigan in Porter county. Papers read by representatives of each of the county historical societies emphasized the importance of the study of the history of the Dunes. An historical pilgrimage to the home of Joseph de Bailey, the first white homestead in northern Indiana, was one of the features of the program.

Among relics brought before the Orange County historical society at a recent meeting, was a textbook 175 years old. The book, Dillworth's *Assistant to Teachers*, was published in London, England, in 1747, and is believed to be the oldest book in the county. Aaron Maris, a descendent of a pioneer family, produced some interesting relics, including the copy of a land grant to one of his ancestors that was originally signed by William Penn, land patents signed by President Van Buren and some ancient marriage certificates.

Indianapolis News, February 25, 1922.

The passing of old Indiana newspapers, particularly those of a century's growth or more, deserves notice among the historical items of the state. The old *Vevay Reveille* established in 1816, the year in which Indiana was admitted to the Union, and which is said to have had a record of not missing an issue in the 106 years of its publication, was recently sold to Earl S. Brown, publisher of the *Vevay Enterprise*. The old *Reveille* is said to have been the second oldest weekly newspaper in Indiana.

Spencer County In The World War is the title of a manuscript war history recently filed with the Indiana historical commission. Mrs. Helen R. Swan, chairman of the War History committee, has succeeded in obtaining reports on all the organizations that took part in war work during the years 1917-1919. A valuable part of the Spencer County war history collection consists of six scrap books filled with newspaper clippings relating to Spencer county's part in the World war. Miss Blanche Kercheval assisted Mrs. Swan in collecting and preparing these valuable newspaper references.

The State library has received from Mrs. John H. Holliday as part of the gift of John H. Holliday, the manuscripts of three diaries of John Tipton: The Journal of John Tipton,

Tippecanoe Battle Campaign 1811; Journal of John Tipton of an expedition to the vicinity of Vallonia (now in Jackson County) of Harrison County Rangers in July, 1812, to protect citizens from the hostile Indians while pulling their flax; Journal of John Tipton of tour in 1820 to fix the seat of government of the State of Indiana. Two or three years before Mr. Holliday's death, he had deposited in the State library as the property of the state, his collection on the Civil war. This he had been gathering for many years. It is one of the best in the middle West. The pamphlet collection is of particular interest because these bear especially on the military prisons of the Civil war period and are rare, and secondly, there are many items on the Gettysburg campaign in which Mr. Holliday was deeply interested. There are memoirs and biographies of the principal generals on both sides, many volumes on Lincoln, a set of *Vanity Fair* of 1860, 1861 and 1862, the proceedings of the soldiers' societies of both sides, regimental histories and biographies of the public men of that day. In addition there are collections of pamphlets on the government of Indiana, particularly the charities of the state, in which Mr. Holliday was always active. There are about 1,500 volumes in this gift. In the discretion of the librarian these items may be loaned, but they are primarily for reference.

The number of the South Bend *Tribune* for March 9, 1922 is a hundred page golden anniversary edition. The paper contains many interesting articles and pictures relating to the early history of South Bend.

The Ft. Wayne historical society held its first quarterly meeting of the year April 4. The program included a dinner, followed by an historical pageant. As announced on the program the pageant was given to honor the Peltiers—Fort Wayne's first pioneer family, depicting scenes in their subsequent life with faithfulness to historical facts as these are now obtainable. The prologue, written by Mrs. A. J. Detzer, described the coming of the Peltiers "merest lads were they both" in 1787; the arrival in the summer of 1804 of the beautiful Angeline Chapeteau, and the welcome given to her by the people living in and near the Old Fort. Mrs. Samuel Taylor

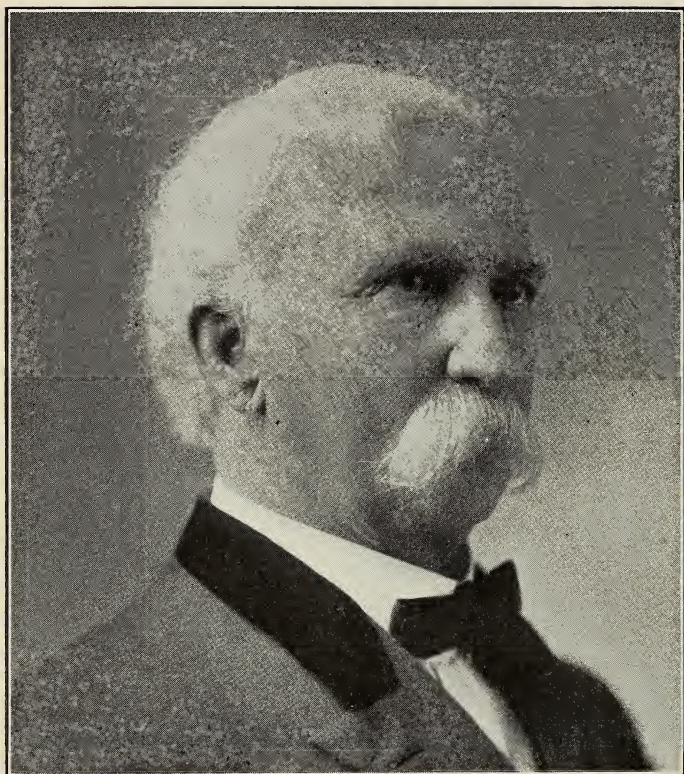
was the author of the pageant proper, which was divided into five episodes and twelve scenes. The musical program was arranged by Mrs. Will H. W. Peltier, pianist, and Mrs. Florence Cleary, soloist. The pageant was directed by Ross Lockridge, Vice-President of the Society, and the character interpretations were given by the Indiana University Extension public speaking classes. The program emphasized three things: the importance of family histories; the necessity for trained speakers; and the value of the pageant in teaching history.

On January 28, 1921, the Indiana Historical Commission received a letter from the secretary of the Northern Indiana historical society, in which the information was given that the society had been asleep for a few years, but signs of renewed activity were evidenced in the electing of new officers, and the securing of an appropriation to be expended in buying furniture and cases to furnish the rooms of the society which had been permanently located in the old court house of St. Joseph county. Through the efforts of the new officers, Dr. H. T. Montgomery, president, John A. Hibberd, secretary, and Frank A. Stover, treasurer, a bill was presented to the General Assembly of 1919, which would make it possible for historical societies having a collection of records, papers, and historical relics, to obtain an appropriation from the county commissioners for the employment of a curator to take charge of the rooms and collections of the societies, and make them available to the public. Credit is due to the Northern historical society for the passage of Senate Bill 190.

On March 1, of this year, the county commissioners of St. Joseph county made the appropriation provided for in the bill, and upon the recommendation of the society Mrs. Eva Hoffman was employed as curator. The rooms of the society are now open three days in the week, and the work of cataloging and classifying the collections of the Society is going forward rapidly under the direction of Mrs. Hoffman. One annual meeting of the society is held each year, with special meetings at the call of the president. The annual meeting of this year was held on the evening of April 7. One of the interesting features of the program was a talk by George Brennan, of

Chicago, an authority on northern Indiana history, and the author of a book on the *Dunes of Northern Indiana* which is now in the hands of the publisher. A representative of the Indiana historical commission was present and gave an informal talk on the work of the commission in co-operation with local historical societies. Talks were made by Dr. H. T. Montgomery and local members of the society. A committee was appointed to take up the work of compiling a history of St. Joseph county's part in the World war, in manuscript form for publication.

The regular monthly meeting of the Washington County historical society was held March 25. A memorial service was a part of the program in honor of a former citizen and president of the Old Settlers society, Lewis N. Smith. The biographical sketch was read by Mrs. Asa Elliott, together with a letter from Dr. S. W. Smith of Leesville, a son of the deceased, who gave to the society two Bibles over one hundred years old, formerly the property of his father. A sketch of the life of Col. S. D. Sayles was read by his daughter, Mrs. Martha L. Hobbs; and a paper on the Mounds of Howard Township by S. H. Mitchell. This paper was prepared in connection with the archeological and historical survey which Washington county is making for the state. Many relics were received, consisting of old newspapers, manuscripts, coins and photographs.



CAPT. WILLIAM T. CRAWFORD

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Early Normal Schools

ASCENSION SEMINARY AND CAPTAIN WILLIAM T.
CRAWFORD

By JOHN C. CHANEY of Sullivan, Indiana

In 1858 William T. Crawford of Lisbon, Ohio, a graduate of Lisbon High School, fresh from his matriculation at Mount Union college, Ohio, came to Farmersburg, Sullivan county, Indiana, to visit relatives who had but recently immigrated to Jackson township—on a vacation and exploring trip. He farmed a crop of corn about two miles north of Hymera during the summer of that year.

While thus engaged he noted the lack of education and interest in education among the people with whom he came in contact. When the few schools in the neighborhoods in the fall assembled, he also noted the crudity of methods pursued by the teachers of these schools.

The next spring at the close of the short terms of school which then prevailed, he opened a select subscription school in a private residence in Farmersburg in which there was a spare front room about twenty feet square. In this select school there were gathered together from surrounding country schools and in the village of Farmersburg twenty-seven young people—about equally divided between males and females. This school continued for eleven weeks and adjourned to meet again September 15th following. On assembling in September there were thirty-two enrolled. The school awakened the people to education; and the fame of the teacher spread for

many miles. There was at the time a newspaper published at Sullivan, county seat of Sullivan county, whose editor interested himself in the educational demands of western Indiana. The editor visited the Farmersburg school, which visit resulted in an editorial in the newspaper, recommending all teachers of Sullivan county, "Before beginning their work for the school year, or if any of them had already begun, to close their schools for a week, and attend the Crawford school at Farmersburg."

This the teachers generally did; and then and there was held an "institute week" in connection with daily recitations in this select school.

It was yet early enough in the fall for the most of the institute sessions to be held under a spreading oak tree standing on what afterward became Ascension Seminary grounds. The then acting county "school examiner" attended the institute and lent it his co-operation and support.

It all resulted in a popular demand for a select school which would not only impart instruction, but "train teachers how to teach."

In 1860, from his own purse, Mr. Crawford, then but 22 years old, purchased a small field lying at the western edge of the village of Farmersburg as a "school grounds," and returned to his home in Ohio, where he married Elizabeth Conkle, a school mate of his in Mount Union college.

He raised a flock of sheep and taught a three months term of school in Ohio. He disposed of the sheep, gathered together what money he could, and took his wife with him to Farmersburg to build a school building and found a Normal school. Upon landing at Farmersburg he found many enthusiastic friends in support of his enterprise, and he proceeded to the erection of a two-story frame building 36 by 60 feet. Meantime, the Civil war had begun, and the call for volunteers to save the Union had gone forth. The young professor heard the call and answered it by raising Company H of the 85th Indiana infantry, and soon went to the front, where, as captain of his company, he served "full three long years of warfare." His command distinguished itself in many of the hard-fought battles of the rebellion.

While in the service his seminary building stood weather-boarded and roofed but not plastered. The army was no place for a fighting soldier to make money, and money was needed to complete the building.

He and his company were discharged soon after the surrender of Lee, and he came home and applied himself, under limited means, to his school prospects with assiduity, and so far completed the seminary building as to open school in it in the fall of 1865.

The post office at Farmersburg was named Ascension, and this name he gave to his seminary. Ascension Seminary became a worthy normal school in western Indiana, and was the inspiration for the State Normal school at Terre Haute.

Before describing this honored school, a brief description of its founder, Professor William T. Crawford, may be appropriate. He was born in Jay county, Indiana, in 1837; his parents, Samuel and Gracy Crawford, of Scotch-Irish stock, residing in Indiana about two years. He was reared in Columbiana county, Ohio, however, within six miles of Lisbon, the seat of government of the county. He was the sixth of a family of ten children, six of whom were teachers. He was a man of striking personality, stood five feet eleven inches in his stockings. His limbs were slender but well shaped and muscular. His eyes were gray, his hair a tawny-black, and he had a clear complexion. An aquiline nose and a fine face completes his physical description. He wore a mustache and shaved his whiskers, dressed in Prince Albert coat and plug hat and looked the cultured gentleman.

In action he was dynamic, and his resolution of purpose made him the personification of energy. He inspired his pupils; and every teacher who emanated from Ascension seminary possessed his characteristics, imitated his methods and manners, and, like himself, succeeded.

It is noted above that his hair was black. However, he came of an ancestry which grew gray early in life, and this inheritance, together with a spell of typhoid fever in the army, made his hair white, while his mustache remained black, at the time he founded Ascension seminary. His picture represents him at 70 years of age, taken several years after he had retired from school work.

Ascension seminary continued at Farmersburg until 1872, when, because of inadequate equipment, it was by arrangement with the school trustees of Sullivan moved to Sullivan, occupying the second and third stories of the recently completed Central school building, where it continued to 1878, when Professor Crawford retired and the seminary became merged with the high school of Sullivan. The public schools of Sullivan being united under one roof with the seminary, Professor Crawford conducted both.

With Professor Crawford there were associated, as assistant teachers, at Farmersburg, Charles W. Finney, an army comrade; John T. Hays, a graduate of Mount Union college, Ohio, and A. P. Allen, a graduate of Depauw (Asbury) university. At Sullivan were Professor Crawford, John T. Hays, A. P. Allen, W. H. Cain and Amanda DeBaun, with several grade teachers and assistants.

In connection with the regular school work there was a music department, under direction of Professor and Mrs. Beazle; and also a literary society where expression was taught in declamation, composition and debate, with a professor as critic. For expression development the school was divided into three grand divisions, each of which was subdivided into three classes which came on duty every three weeks successively.

To economize the time for study and recitation, the literary society met every Friday night of the school year. The school year had three school terms of three months each. The curriculum of the school embraced everything now covered in the eighth grade of the public school and went thence beyond the present high school course of the public school system, taking the range of two years of the present college course of study. It embraced philosophy, physiology and hygiene, grammar, English, history, ancient and modern, logic and mental philosophy. In mathematics it embraced integral calculus, algebra to the *n*th degree, geometry and trigonometry.

The school taught Latin, Greek and German beside the English language. There was no observatory; and the students studied the stars in pairs. Professor Crawford taught German and mathematics; Professors Hays and Allen taught Latin and English, and Professor Cain taught Greek. They

all taught elocution. Oratory was also a specialty of the school. Professor Crawford was himself an orator.

A feature of the school was mental arithmetic, which consisted in solving a problem by oral analysis without the aid of the blackboard in stating and solving the same.

There were seven graduating classes which passed from Ascension seminary. There were two thousand three hundred and seventy-eight teachers who sprang from this institution, and there were many who entered the various professions and avocations who did not complete the courses of study and therefore did not graduate from the school. Judges, statesmen and diplomats were of this school and good citizenship abounded among them. It may well be said to be and to have been an inspirational school of the normal type; and, in its day, served the state and nation.

The training received at Ascension seminary was practical and useful in every calling. Physicians, ministers, lawyers, as well as those who followed gainful avocations, who received their training in this worthy institution attest its merit. It was, however, essentially a teachers' school; and its teachers were everywhere and by everybody desired.

Captain William T. Crawford reared a family of six children, four girls and two boys. He lived out his days at Sullivan, Indiana, in comfort, if not in plenty, and died in 1912, and throughout his career was a true patriot, a good citizen and a great "Normal Educator."

Captain Crawford for many years was prominent in Grand Army circles—attended and addressed Grand Army reunions and campfires in Indiana, Illinois and Ohio. For several years his comrades depended upon him to "get their pensions."

He belonged to the Presbyterian church, was Sunday school superintendent, and a deacon in the church. He was a republican in politics, yet he never held public office. He belonged also to the Masonic fraternity.

He was generally known and greeted as Professor Crawford throughout his life; and his name and fame were conspicuous as the founder of Ascension seminary, whence came the teachers whose services commanded the attention of the people of western Indiana and eastern Illinois for fifty years.

Indiana Primary Laws

By J. F. CONNELL, Wabash College

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer is deeply indebted to Mr. Charles Kettleboro, Director of the Indiana Legislative Reference Bureau, Mr. Frederic M. Guild, Instructor in Political Science at Indiana university, Albert J. Beveridge of Indianapolis, Governor Warren T. McCray of Indiana, Judge James E. Piety of Terre Haute, Mr. Martin M. Hugg of Indianapolis, the Legislative Reference Bureaus of Wisconsin, California and Iowa, James P. Goodrich of Winchester and Charles Evans Hughes for information and material contained in letters and published articles; to the county clerks of the counties mentioned in the tables used in this paper for the information supplied at my request, and to Dr. Lawrence Henry Gipson, of Wabash college, for his assistance and kindly criticism in the preparation of this paper.

There has been much adverse criticism directed toward the direct primary system in the past few years. Undoubtedly the primary has been used for a sufficiently long period of years in a large majority of the states¹ and under widely enough varied local political conditions to allow practical and theoretical students of politics to make an estimate of its actual worth. The direct primary was brought forward by progressives in politics and is supported by that class of political thinkers at the present time. Politicians of the old school especially were opposed to its adoption, have supported it only in a lukewarm manner, and now generally demand its repeal and a return to the old convention system.

It is necessary briefly to bring out the objections to most of the primary laws of the several states. The expense to the candidates and to the state is an important feature and it does not seem that any corrupt practice act yet enacted has been able to eliminate this most serious objection. Again, one of the most complicated problems with which students of the primary are confronted is the means by which members

¹ According to a bulletin, issued in November, 1914, by the Indiana Legislative Reference Bureau, in 1914, forty states had some kind of a primary election law. Thirty states included mandatory and state-wide features. About sixty million people, or about 80 per cent of the population, choose their candidates for office through some sort of primary election.

of one party can be prevented from entering the primary of another party and naming the candidate—too often the weakest man. The nonpartisan primary was offered by former Governor Hiram Johnson of California as a remedy for that evil. Such a law was twice enacted by the legislature of that state and twice rejected by a referendum vote of the people, or, as the *Fresno Republican* says:

by such few of them as voted. On the face of it, it would seem that the people of California reject the theory but demand the practice of non-partisan primaries. However, the inconsistency may not be so great, since only a few of them voted at the referendum elections, while a much larger number voted at the actual primaries and insist on voting on a non-partisan basis.²

We find the same objections raised in Wisconsin in the governor's message of 1919.³ It says in part:

No party organization can be maintained under it (the Wisconsin law)—in fact it has again been demonstrated within this state in the past year that the adherents of one party may make an effort to nominate the candidate for another party in the hope of giving their party a better opportunity for success.

Governor Emanuel Phillip believes that the convention is the proper agency to name party candidates and platforms, and that the provisions of the Wisconsin law providing that the candidates shall frame the platform is wrong in principle and dangerous in practice.⁴

In recent governors' messages much attention is focused upon the direct primaries and the comment is usually unflattering. Governor Preus of Minnesota declares it "absurd and politically dishonest"; Governor Hart of Washington believes

that time and experience have demonstrated that the direct primary is not the rose-strewn pathway that leads to the political Utopia dreamed by its sponsors

² Editorial by Mr. Chester H. Rowell, former chairman Republican State Committee, September 4, 1918.

³ Message of Governor Emanuel L. Phillip to the Wisconsin Legislature, 1919, p. 21.

⁴ Message of Governor Emanuel L. Phillip to the Wisconsin Legislature, 1917, p. 22.

and charges "demoralization of responsible party organization, and unfair advantages to minority parties and groups"; Governor Robertson of Oklahoma declares

it defeats the very purpose of its original design by reason of the pernicious practices that have grown up and are seemingly incurable.⁵

Governor Warren T. McCray of Indiana in his message to the legislature of 1921 said of the primary:

The present law is cumbersome and entails a necessary expense which no man who seeks to serve his state or country in public office should be forced to bear. I believe that the direct primary should be retained for the selection of candidates for city, township and county officers and also for the selection of candidates for precinct committeemen and delegates to the state conventions.⁶

He also recommended that candidates for United States senator and governor, who are now chosen by the primary, providing that one candidate receives a majority of the votes cast, and for congressmen, state officials, and delegates to the national convention, be selected by a party nominating convention.⁷

It is significant to note that former State Senator Martin M. Hugg of Indianapolis, a co-author of the Indiana primary law of 1907, says:

I was a firm believer in primary reforms. It is ideal. But in practice, in my opinion, it is a failure. As election commissioner of this (Marion) county for three or four elections after the enactment of the law of 1907 I had the very best opportunity to see its operations. I then changed my opinion and now believe that the convention system with delegates elected under proper legal provisions is the better. The convention requires a majority to nominate. At a primary a plurality does the work. Geographical conditions are also to be considered. By this (the convention method) opportunity is given to nominate candidates representative of the different elements of the party. In the end tickets so nominated are better balanced than those selected at the primary.⁸

⁵ *The American Political Science Review*, May, 1921, p. 250.

⁶ Message of Governor Warren T. McCray to the Indiana Legislature, January 10, 1921.

⁷ Several weeks later both houses of the Indiana Legislature rejected a bill which incorporated these reforms by a very decisive vote, and it is believed that the people of Indiana support the action of their legislators rather than that of the governor and his associates.

⁸ Letter from Martin M. Hugg to the writer, May 24, 1921.

It is not to be believed that the rank and file of the voters of either of the major parties look with favor upon a return to the old convention system. In this connection it may be pointed out that the primary laws of Wisconsin have long been storm centers in legislative battles. The pro-primary view there is expressed by the *Capital Times*, which says:

With the return of the old guard leaders to power a comprehensive and nationwide attempt to smash the principle of the primary election is to be made this winter (1920-1921). Reactionary forces throughout the country have always hated the primary election law. They have magnified its imperfections as an excuse to return to something infinitely worse and more suited to the manipulation of the forces of reaction.⁹

The defenders of the primary system do not ordinarily claim that it is free from imperfections, but do maintain that the members of the party should have the privilege of nominating their party's candidates directly and without unreasonable dictation from party leaders who can not be held legally or morally responsible for that dictation. The views of the newer progressive elements in both political parties are probably well expressed by Mrs. Esther Griffin White, chairman of the Wayne County (Indiana) Women's Republican committee, who says:

Faulty as the primary law may be as at present constituted, it is a far step ahead of the convention system. Nothing less than banditry is played on the floor of conventions. The primary is a potent educational factor, for example, this community saw and heard every candidate for governor and president during the last campaign. If the primary was a big expense to the state it was money well spent. There is nothing the matter with the primary law; it is all right. The fault is in its administration.¹⁰

In former Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana the primary has one of its most able defenders. In an address at South Bend, Indiana, Mr. Beveridge declared that the soundness of the principle of primary elections can not be denied and that it has met with the approval of the public. He charges that the movement to abolish it and to return to the

⁹ Editorial, Madison, Wisconsin *Capital Times*, November 16, 1920.

¹⁰ Mrs. Esther Griffith White of Richmond, Indiana, in the *Indianapolis Star*, January 28, 1921.

old convention system is the work of practical politicians of both parties seeking personal advantages.¹¹

It is significant to note that few writers defend the primary laws of their respective states in their entirety. Almost all admit imperfections and are seeking reforms for their correction. Roughly, we may divide students of the question into two classes, those who declare the principle of primary elections inherently wrong and who demand a return to the convention system of nomination, and those who maintain that the primary system is sound in principle and that our efforts should be directed toward eliminating the faults and weaknesses. We are not able to judge which view is preponderant, but the fact that there is general dissatisfaction with the present primary laws seems to indicate that some sort of reform is necessary and advisable.

The practice of nominating candidates of political parties by representative conventions has long been criticised. The first abandonment of the plan seems to have been in 1860 in Crawford county, Pennsylvania, where the local political leaders agreed to the selection of candidates by popular vote. The plan met with considerable favor and was tried locally in several states, particularly in Indiana.¹²

The first Indiana primary law was enacted by the legislature of 1901 and was designed for the use of local units only.¹³ It provided that counties containing cities of more than fifty thousand inhabitants might nominate county, township, and city officers by direct primary, providing that the party desiring to nominate its candidates in this way had cast ten per cent or more of the total vote at the preceding general election. The use of this method was thus made optional and the decision rested with the precinct committeemen. The management of the machinery of the primary was left with the party organization and the expense was borne by the party.¹⁴

¹¹ As reported by the *Indianapolis Star*, January 17, 1921.

¹² C. A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, 692.

¹³ *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1901, Chapter 341. Senate Bill 91, March 11, 1901.

¹⁴ Party officers formed the board of primary election commissioners. It was also provided that two parties could not nominate their candidates at the same time and at the same place. Corrupt practice clauses, providing penalties for irregularities, were included, but as these penalties were usually lighter

The next law enacted in Indiana was in 1905 and was designed for Vigo county only.¹⁵ It made mandatory the selection of candidates for all county, township, and city offices and precinct committeemen, and delegates to state and congressional conventions in counties containing cities of over 36,500 inhabitants and less than 43,000 inhabitants by a primary election. The expenses of the primary were paid by the county and a fee was required to be paid by the candidate for nomination.¹⁶ In the main the general election laws were applied, especially with regard to irregular practices.¹⁷

The first general mandatory law was passed in 1907 and provided for the nomination of all county, township, and city officers, for precinct committeemen and delegates to the congressional and state conventions, by a primary election in counties containing cities of over 36,000 inhabitants. The law was optional with counties containing smaller cities. The provisions were in general the same as those enacted for Vigo county the previous session.¹⁸ This is the first primary law in Indiana which had a very general scope and was the result of a public demand for reform in the nomination of candidates.¹⁹

than those for similar abuses in general elections, and as the law specifically provided that lack of regular form of ballots, poll books, tally sheets, or other materials used was not sufficient cause for rejection of the vote, it is difficult to see how these clauses had a very far-reaching effect. The law also provided that counties containing cities of less than 50,000 inhabitants might use the direct primary system, provided the party organization so desired. In this case the secretary of state was to be notified.

¹⁵ *Indiana House Journal*, 1905, Chapter 73, House Bill 340, March 3, 1905.

¹⁶ A candidate was required to file notice of his candidacy not less than fifteen days nor more than twenty days before the date of the primary election. The fee was twenty-five dollars for candidates for offices paying more than five hundred dollars a year, and ten dollars for those paying less than that amount.

¹⁷ In a letter of April 26, 1921, to the writer, former Judge James E. Piety, of Terre Haute, Indiana, says: "The good people of Vigo county favored the passage of a primary law, thinking that it might bring about the nomination and election of better officers. We tried it and it did not prove a success. The general primary laws of the state have proved a failure in Vigo county. Our city and county officers are not as high class as they were before the primary laws were enacted."

¹⁸ The board of primary election commissioners was composed of the clerk of the circuit court, or of the city, according to whether it was a county or city election, and a representative appointed by him. The primary was held at the same place and time by each party participating. Candidates were not required to pay a fee under the provisions of this law.

¹⁹ The Governor's message of that year, *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1907, p. 91, recommends simpler and more comprehensive primary laws for the nomina-

In 1911 a general corrupt practices act was passed which applies to general and primary elections alike.²⁰ The penalties for tampering with the machinery of elections were made much more severe and the placing of primary elections on the same basis as general elections may be believed to have had a very satisfactory effect on public opinion regarding the importance of the primary.

No changes were then made in the primary laws until 1915, when three very important modifications were made.²¹ The law was made state-wide and mandatory for all parties casting over ten per cent of the total vote in the preceding general election. A preferential vote for president, United States senator, and governor was provided, and in case any candidate for any of these offices received a majority of the votes cast, the state convention was required to declare him the nominee of the party, or, as in the case of a candidate for president, that the delegates of the state vote for him as long as his name was before the convention.²² A first and second choice vote was also provided.²³ This law again provided for a small fee for candidates filing.²⁴

tion of all candidates for city, county, and township offices and delegates to conventions. A bill was introduced by Senator Charles O. Roemler, of Indianapolis, which was as sweeping in its scope as possible. All conventions, even state, were abolished, and the state officers were to be nominated by the primary method. The state central committee was to draft the party platform. On second reading Senator Martin M. Hugg, of Indianapolis, offered a substitute bill which was substantially the same as the bill finally enacted. The mandatory feature applied to only five counties, Marion, Vanderburg, Allen, St. Joseph and Vigo. After several hours debate a Republican caucus was held and Senator Hugg was appointed chairman of a committee to sponsor the bill, which was approved by the caucus. Letter from Senator Hugg, May 24, 1921.

²⁰ *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1911. Chapter 121. Senate Bill 43, March 3, 1911.

²¹ *Indiana House Journal*, 1915, Chapter 105, House Bill 74, March 9, 1915.

²² This was usually interpreted to mean as long as he had a reasonable chance for nomination.

²³ The following procedure was provided for the counting of first and second choice votes: A candidate was nominated if he received a majority of the first choice votes cast. If no candidate was thus nominated the one having the least number of first choice votes was dropped and the second choice votes of his supporters were added to the first choice votes of the candidate for whom cast. If no candidate then had a majority the process was repeated until a majority was obtained for some candidate.

²⁴ For offices paying less than a hundred dollars a year a fee of one dollar was required, and for those paying more than that amount 1 per cent. of the yearly salary was provided.

An amendment to this law was enacted in 1917 which abolished the second choice vote.²⁵ That feature of the 1915 law was not popular with the people or with the party leaders and its repeal was generally demanded. It is difficult to say what influence the second choice vote had in the one election in which it was used, but it is believed that this was not great.²⁶

Only one important change was made in the primary law by the 1921 session of the legislature. Independent candidates, so-called "soreheads," are prohibited from filing as candidates for election after a primary has been held. The courts have not yet handed down a decision on this law and it is not definitely known whether this excludes all independent candidates or only those who were candidates in the primary.

We have seen that the primary laws in Indiana have been far from static and a study of their operation is made particularly hard for this reason. However, the law has not been changed materially in the past five years and we are able to discover some very striking facts. Mr. Charles Kettleboro, director of the Indiana legislative reference bureau, has made a very interesting study of the operation of the 1916, 1918, and 1920 primaries.²⁷ For these three years there were 1,049 offices to be filled, and candidates for 623, or 59%, had no opposition. In the Democratic party in 1916, 40% were unopposed, in 1918 60%, and in 1920 65%. In the Republican party in 1916, 46% were unopposed, in 1918 62%, and in 1920 56%. As Mr. Kettleboro points out, we may safely accept as the basis of our study that where a candidate has no opposition he is either brought out by the machine or is favored by it. If this were not the case the party leaders would bring some one out in opposition to him. Thus we see from the above figures that the majority of the ticket in most cases is probably not named by the people in the operation of the primary, but by the party leaders. I do not mean to say that this opportunity is abused by them, or that incompetent or vicious candidates are always thrust upon the people by these

²⁵ *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1917, Chapter 117, Senate Bill 433, March 8, 1917.

²⁶ Mr. Charles Kettleboro, director of the Indiana legislative reference bureau, believes that the second choice vote was not given a fair trial, and that its repeal at that time was unfortunate.

²⁷ *National Municipal Review*, March, 1921, p. 166.

leaders, but we must recognize that in very many cases the people do not name the ticket.²⁸

In this state the precinct committeemen are the basis of the organization of political parties. They elect the county chairmen, who in turn elect the district chairmen. The thirteen district chairmen compose the state central committee and elect the state chairman. It is obvious that a control of the precinct committeemen will eventually lead to a control of the entire political machinery of the state. We have the following figures for Marion county which show the lack of opposition for these important party offices:²⁹

Year	Precincts	Republican			Democratic		
		No. candi- dates	1	2 or more	No candi- dates	1	2 or more
1916	158	---	83	75	---	131	27
1918	163	4	104	55	15	141	7
1920	177	22	82	95	---	94	83

The writer had hoped to be able to present figures from all of the counties in the state and discover how far this same condition prevailed in local politics. Due to errors in the records, incomplete records, and the failure to get information from the clerks of the circuit courts, only the following incomplete table could be compiled, yet we can discover from it the same general tendencies in most of the counties.³⁰

²⁸ This fact is also borne out by a little incident that was called to my attention. The authenticity of it cannot be vouched for, yet I will present it for what it is worth, as it comes from a reliable source. Thirty minutes before the balloting began in the Republican state convention, in May, 1920, a newspaper reporter walked thru the assembled delegates in Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis and asked many of them who was going to be nominated for a certain state office. Invariably the reply was: "I don't know; the 'dope' hasn't come down yet." We may well believe from this that to some degree at least the people did not nominate the state ticket, thru their properly elected delegates, but that the work was really done by some one higher up, who handed down the "dope."

²⁹ Mr. Kettleboro, in the *National Municipal Review*, March, 1921.

³⁰ There are undoubtedly errors in this table, as all of the information with the exception of Fountain, Monroe and Montgomery counties was obtained by letter from the clerks of the circuit courts. The information from Monroe county was obtained from Dr. Frederic H. Guild, Instructor in Political Science in Indiana university, and that for Fountain and Montgomery counties was obtained by the writer personally. It must be remembered that we know nothing of the local political conditions, which always affect the contests for nomination. The insufficiency of these figures is realized, and yet it is hoped that they may indicate the general tendency.

Table showing the number of contests for county, and other local offices, precinct committeemen, and delegates to the state convention for 1916, 1918 and 1920:

County ³¹	Year	Number of candidates								Per cent uncon- tested
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Benton	1916----	1	12	6	2	1	0	0	0	57
	1918----	3	21	8	1	0	1	0	0	67
	1920----	0	5	4	0	0	1	1	0	45
Fountain	1916----	0	55	3	0	0	0	0	0	94
	1918----	2	63	11	1	1	0	0	0	80
	1920----	0	65	4	2	1	0	0	0	90
Franklin	1916----	0	1	9	7	3	0	0	0	5
	1918----	0	1	5	2	2	0	0	0	10
	1920----	0	0	5	2	0	1	2	1	0
Hamilton	1916 ³² ---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	1918----	0	8	1	2	2	1	0	1	53
	1920----	0	13	5	1	0	1	0	0	65
Huntington	1916 ³² ---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	1918----	0	38	1	3	0	0	0	0	90
	1920----	0	29	7	2	0	0	0	0	76
Jefferson	1916----	1	98	3	2	0	0	0	0	94
	1918----	19	163	4	1	2	0	0	0	96
	1920----	4	102	1	1	0	0	0	0	98
Monroe	1916 ³² ---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	1918 ³² ---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	1920----	0	65	13	6	2	0	1	0	74
Montgomery	1916----	0	59	2	2	0	0	1	0	92
	1918----	0	57	0	1	1	0	0	0	96
	1920----	0	56	14	3	0	0	0	0	76
Newton	1916----	0	1	3	2	3	1	1	0	9
	1918----	0	6	5	3	2	0	1	0	35
	1920----	0	5	2	1	2	0	1	0	45

County ³¹	Year	Number of candidates								Per cent uncon- tested
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Orange -----	1916 ³² ---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	1918-----	0	26	32	12	3	2	0	1	33
	1920-----	0	0	35	1	1	0	0	0	0
Owen -----	1916-----	0	0	1	2	2	1	2	1	0
	1918-----	0	0	3	4	0	2	0	1	0
	1920-----	0	0	3	0	4	3	0	0	0
Parke -----	1916-----	0	16	7	1	1	0	0	0	64
	1918-----	0	19	6	0	0	0	0	0	76
	1920-----	0	13	5	1	1	0	0	0	65
Porter -----	1916 ³² ---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	1918 ³² ---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	1920-----	0	27	1	6	1	1	0	0	63
Pulaski -----	1916-----	0	20	16	0	0	0	0	0	56
	1918-----	0	17	3	0	0	0	0	0	85
	1920-----	0	16	1	1	0	0	0	0	89
Scott -----	1916-----	0	1	2	3	3	2	0	0	9
	1918-----	0	1	5	4	1	0	2	0	7
	1920-----	0	0	2	1	4	2	0	0	0
Starke -----	1916-----	0	11	2	5	2	2	0	0	44
	1918-----	0	9	20	9	8	4	6	0	16
	1920-----	0	1	2	1	6	1	1	0	17
Union -----	1916 ³² ---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	1918 ³² ---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	1920-----	0	25	4	1	0	0	0	0	83
Washington -----	1916-----	3	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
	1918-----	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1920-----	0	0	6	1	1	0	0	0	0
White -----	1916-----	0	12	5	0	1	0	0	0	66
	1918-----	0	30	1	3	1	2	0	0	81
	1920-----	1	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Total per cent uncontested-----										70.9

³¹ The following information was received from three counties:

County	Number of Candidates	Number of Offices
Jennings -----	109	35
Kosciusko -----	311	58
Martin -----	408	200

³² No record for these years.

As was seen, the per cent of local offices uncontested was 70.9, and that of state offices 59. In nine of these local primaries 90% of the candidates were unopposed, in seventeen 75% were unopposed, in twenty-seven over 50% were unopposed, and in only nine were there contests for all offices. These figures seem to indicate that there is the same tendency in local offices as in the state offices. In many instances, as was suggested, the leaders of the party name the ticket.³³ Thus we have practically the Hughes plan in operation in Indiana without proper legal machinery for its use.³⁴

The following table shows the per cent of unopposed candidates in these counties and the expense of the primary there.

County ³⁵	Per cent candidates unopposed		Expense
	1916	1918	
Benton -----	1916	57	\$1828.35
	1918	67	1410.00
Fountain -----	1916	94	1889.32
	1918	80	1784.00
Franklin -----	1916	5	2130.58
	1918	10	1542.00
Hamilton -----	1916 ³⁶	--	-----
	1918	53	3286.00
Huntington -----	1916 ³⁶	--	-----
	1918	90	2411.00
Jefferson -----	1916	94	2282.75
	1918	96	2514.00
Montgomery -----	1916	--	2937.00
	1918	--	2824.00
Newton -----	1916	9	1048.41
	1918	35	1093.00
Orange -----	1916 ³⁶	--	-----
	1918	33	2457.00
Owen -----	1916	0	1787.59
	1918	0	1888.00

	1916	64	3080.48
Parke -----	1918	76	3455.00
	1916	56	1309.23
Pulaski -----	1918	85	948.00
	1916	9	1134.76
Scott -----	1918	7	952.00
	1916	44	1939.73
Starke -----	1918	16	1617.00
	1916	0	2261.60
Washington -----	1918	0	2473.00
	1916	66	3436.13
White -----	1918	81	3331.00

It is unfortunate that the Indiana law provides that the primary election records for local offices need only be kept for six months. Not only is this likely to lead to irregularities, but it is almost impossible as a result to collect such information for Indiana as we have from Iowa. There should be a change in our law requiring that these records be kept permanently.

Thus we find that we are spending a total of \$606,490.93 in these counties for which the records are complete for the years 1916 and 1918 for the nomination of candidates of whom about seventy per cent for local offices are unopposed, and fifty-six per cent for state offices. Of course, there is the provision in the state laws that where there is no opposition there is no primary held, but there is usually some opposition and the total expense of the primary must be borne for the nomination of these few candidates where there is opposition. In the majority of these instances it appears to be not a ques-

³³ The clerk of the Fountain Circuit Court said that the last day for filing for one primary there were no Democratic candidates filed. A group of party leaders assembled in a law office across the street from the court house and made a ticket and filed it. This was done thru no desire to dictate the ticket, but from a desire to see that the party had a ticket in the field.

³⁴ We are not able to say how far this situation holds true in other states, but we present the following table by Mr. Frank Edward Herack, as printed in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, of January, 1921, which shows the same general tendencies in Iowa:

tion of the fitness of the candidates for the office and the public would be served equally well by either candidate. Indeed, many times it is a struggle between two local leaders for control of the party organization and the candidacy for these local offices is merely expressive of that struggle. Yet we spend thousands of dollars in these contests and for ratifying the choice of unopposed candidates. We may well ask ourselves how important these elections are to good government in the community and to the proper conduct of public business.

Another serious defect in our primary law referred to at the beginning of this article is the inability of one party to keep the members of another party from coming into the primary and helping to nominate its candidates.³⁵ One of the most flagrant examples of this was in the recent city primary of Indianapolis, where Samuel Lewis Shank was nominated as the Republican candidate for mayor. Political experts of the city estimate that fully twenty thousand Democrats voted in the Republican primary and that almost all of these votes went to Mr. Shank, as it was rather generally admitted that he would be the weakest candidate and the least desirable to the Republican organization.³⁶ No satisfactory plan has as yet been devised in Indiana whereby we may insure that such abuses of primary legislation will not occur.

In considering this question of primary reform we have one very decided handicap always with us which we must recognize. Former Governor James P. Goodrich of Indiana stated it as follows:

It is very difficult to frame any sort of legislation that can control the election that will be automatic in its application and will make up for the appalling neglect of the average citizen to give any time to politics.³⁷

The percentage of qualified voters who cast their ballots in the 1916, 1918 and 1920 primaries well illustrates this lack of interest. In the Democratic party in 1916, 50% voted, in 1918 47%, and in 1920 32%. In the Republican party in 1916 62% voted, in 1918 46%, and in 1920 67%.

³⁵ No expense records are available as yet for 1920.

³⁶ No records.

State Offices, 1908-1920.								Per cent unopposed
Number of candidates -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Number of offices -----	59	23	10	7	1	1	1	53
Congressional Offices, 1908-1920.								Per cent unopposed
Number of candidates -----	0	1	2	3	4	--	--	
Number of offices -----	10	87	45	8	2	--	--	69
County Offices, 1908-1920.								Per cent unopposed
Number of candidates -----	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Number of offices -----	335	552	113	48	4	4	2	74

⁸⁵ In *Mote vs. Cassidy*, the supreme court of Indiana, on January 5, 1916, ruled that "the primary election laws are not designed for nonpartisan nominations. Their sole object is to regulate nominations by political parties. No well disposed person would seek to intrude into an organization whose principles he disapproves."

⁸⁶ In the seventh ward Shank received 372 more votes than did Mr. Harding in the last presidential election. There were also two other candidates for mayor, and the presidential election of last fall was a Republican landslide, so these figures are very significant. The figures from several of the other wards are also indicative of the fact that Democrats must have voted in this Republican primary.

⁸⁷ Letter of June 3, 1921, to the writer.

Crawford County

(Continued)

By H. H. PLEASANT, English, Indiana

BIG SPRING OR MARENGO

On April 15th, 1839, David Stewart deposited in the recorder's office at Fredonia the plat of Big Springs. This plat contained what is now called old town.¹

Henry Hollowell squatted on the site of Marengo, or Big Springs, in 1811. Later Stewart bought him out and built his home there. Soon Malachi Monk moved into the county and with the assistance of the other men built the old block house about 1812. There were many Indians prowling around then, but one finds no record of any conflict between the whites and the red men. The block house, which was two stories high, was built of logs. The upper story projected out beyond the lower story so that the settlers could fire down on the Indians and give them a reception that they would remember awhile. The old building was torn down about the time of the Civil war.² One may see the foundations of it near the home of J. E. Ross, on the Marengo and Milltown pike, about one mile east of Marengo. David Stewart bought the farm from the government in April, 1833. Mr. Stewart, who was a minister, was in much demand then. He assisted the two Kinkaid brothers to establish the first Christian church in the county. This church was formally organized in October, 1819, in the little log house of the Mr. Kinkaid over on Dog creek near the present town of English. At first there were thirteen members.³

The town of Big Springs never grew very rapidly. The town was located fourteen miles from Leavenworth on the Leavenworth and Paoli road. The first post office was at Proctorsville, about one mile east of the town, where the home

¹ Deed Book 2, page 455.

² Information furnished by Attorney James H. Weathers, of Marengo.

³ Information furnished by Elder Cummins, of English.

of J. W. Birds was at the date of this writing. It remained there until 1851, when a committee composed of Dr. Mattingly, Hugh Taylor, Robert Walts, D. S. Tucker and M. T. Stewart was appointed to arrange for moving it. A new name being necessary, Dr. Mattingly suggested the name of Marengo. The post office was moved from Proctorsville into Big Springs about 1851.⁴

William Henry Harrison of Corydon visited David M. Stewart once and cut his name on the body of a sugar tree which stood in the yard before Stewart's cabin. Many years later an academy was built near the site of the cabin. The sugar tree still stood there till about 1880, when it fell down.⁵

Marengo became a noted place during the Civil war. The settlers were Union through and through. They allowed no one to wear a butternut badge into the town. One day a man named David Miller came into the town armed with two revolvers and a long-barrel rifle. He had on the butternut badge which the loyal people of the town hated so much. He came for trouble and found what he was after. As he walked down the street of the little town several men saw the badge. He went into Stewart's gun shop and was standing there when Ben Goodman and W. J. Stewart walked into the shop. Goodman had been wounded in the battle of Stone's river and was at home now on a furlough. Stewart jerked the badge off of Miller's breast and Ben Goodman hit him over the head with a pair of knucks before had had a chance to shoot or even draw his gun. Before the fight was over Miller was almost killed. He managed with the help of some of the citizens to get home some way. When Hines came through Marengo Miller hoped to get revenge. He went to Hines and wanted to give him information which would have been very injurious to the Union, but Captain Hines looked on him with suspicion. One of the rebels stepped up to him and took his gun and drew back to knock his brains out but Hines interfered and prevented the man from hitting him. Then the rebel looked at him for a few minutes and said, "You say that you are for the South. Why in the h— don't you go south and fight for her

⁴ Biographical souvenir of Crawford county, page 57.

⁵ Information by J. H. Weathers, of New Albany.

then?" The men threw down his gun and rode away leaving Miller standing there.⁶

At the time of the Civil war the town of Marengo was a village of log cabins situated on Brandy branch and on Whiskey Run creek.

ALTON

On the banks of the beautiful Ohio river just a few rods below where Little Blue river runs into the Ohio lies the town of Alton. The town was platted by James Gaither and recorded in the recorder's office at Fredonia July 5, 1838. For a long time this town was called Nebraska, the name of Alton has been used since 1850. The town never grew very large. Probably there never was over three hundred people in the town at its greatest size. During the Civil war the little town made a good record and furnished so many men that the draft never was needed there.⁷

ENGLISH

The first man who bought land in the vicinity of English was Moses Smith, who bought the east half of the northwest quarter of section 24, township 2 south, range 1 west. Here there were three forks of Little Blue: namely, Camp fork, Dog creek, and Brownstown fork. Later other settlers came and a town was built. W. W. Cummins made the first plat of the town in 1839. It was recorded at Fredonia on February 4, 1840, by the name of Hartford. After the town was incorporated in 1886 the name was changed to English in honor of William H. English who was elected to congress from that district in 1850, and was Hancock's running mate in 1880.⁹

At the time of the Civil war Hartford was a struggling village of a few log cabins and one or two little stores. Her war record will be told in the subsequent work on the county history.

⁶ Information furnished by James H. Weathers.

⁷ Terrells' *Reports of the Civil War*; recorders' office book on the town plats.

⁹ New Albany *Daily Tribune*, Nov. 16, 1852.

MILLTOWN

Milltown which for a long time was called Leavenworth's Mill was platted about 1837 by Seth M. Leavenworth. In that year Manual Schoonover secured a license to sell foreign goods in the town of Milltown.¹⁰

The plat of the town as submitted in the text was extended by other citizens. The town grew rapidly and by the Civil war was one of the important towns of the county. A plat of the town is given here. On the old plat made by Leavenworth there are two still houses shown.¹¹

MAGNOLIA

Magnolia was located about four miles northwest of Leavenworth on the Hartford road. Addison Williams bought the southwest quarter of section 14, township 3 south, range 1 east, on February 19, 1820. He tried to plat a town called New Haven but the town never grew. So he filed the plat of Magnolia with the county recorder on the fourth day of July, 1838. Magnolia soon had a still house, a store, and a blacksmith shop. The buhrstones of the old mill may still be seen in the outer part of the town. By the time of the Civil war the town had grown to have a population of about 100 people.

EARLY ROADS

The people needed good roads in the pioneer days of Crawford county. The towns of Fredonia and Leavenworth were the points at which almost all the freight for Crawford county was landed. There was a large river traffic on the Ohio in those early days.¹

The oldest road in Crawford county was the "Governor's Old Trail" or "trace". Governor Harrison and the settlers used this road when they traveled from Corydon to Vincennes. The Old Trail or Trace called the Old Wall at times was not much of a road then. It must have been cleared of trees at the least. This road entered Crawford county near Sharp-

¹⁰ Commissioners' records for 1837.

¹¹ Deed Book 2, page 351.

¹ *Indiana State Laws*, 1835, page 352.

town, passed near the old poor farm which was located about one mile north of Martin Scott's farm, thence to the Leavenworth and Paoli road near Pilot Knob, thence to Mount Sterling, passed near English and from there to Vincennes. Parts of this old road are still in use while many changes have been made in other parts of the road during the last seventy-five years. Map 4 shows the location of all these roads drawn as well as the author can from the data at hand.²

That part of the Old Wall which lay between the Salem and Leavenworth and Paoli roads was declared a state road in 1836 by the state law. Later it was changed so that it included that part between the Paoli road and the Jasper road.³

The General Assembly provided for the Leavenworth and Jasper road in 1833. James Glenn and Benjamin Roberson of Crawford county were appointed commissioners to view out and locate the road. This road was built up the river hill just below the Big Spring branch in the town of Leavenworth. One who has not seen the hill here cannot form any idea of the work required to build such a road. After about eighty years the trace of the old road remains. After the Civil war changes were made in the road and this portion up the big hill is not used any longer. It ran for about one mile up the river hill at Leavenworth before it reached the top of the plateau. This road can be easily traced today.⁴ In certain places the road ran through dense forests. The law required that the road be cleared from trees and underbrush and made thirty feet wide. This cleared strip of land may yet be seen in certain parts of the forest near Leavenworth. The men met at Leavenworth on the first Monday in March, 1833, and located the road. The board doing county business ordered the road opened. The same law provided that Thomas Fleming of Crawford county should act in conjunction with George Arnold of Harrison county and Joseph Enlow of Dubois county in locating a road from Milltown to Jasper. These men met at Milltown on the first Monday

² Information furnished by M. C. Froman, County Commissioner of Crawford county for many years.

³ *Indiana State Laws*, 1836, 352.

⁴ *Indiana State Laws*, 1831-2-3, 73.

of March, 1833, and located the Milltown and Jasper road as shown on the map for the roads. The board doing county business ordered the road opened and paid for out of the three per cent. funds a large portion of which was due Crawford county.

The law further provided that Joseph Denbo and James Sloan of Crawford county should be appointed to help William Harris of Martin county locate a road from Leavenworth to Mount Pleasant in Martin county. As far as the information can be obtained this road followed the Leavenworth and Jasper road across the county.

Another very important road which was opened in 1832 ran from New Albany through Corydon, Leavenworth, Fredonia, and Perry county to Princeton. The road entered Crawford county at the Cole's big bridge over Big Blue river. John L. Smith of Leavenworth, who was appointed commissioner of the road, did not want this road to run through the town of Fredonia. He was to locate the road from Leavenworth to Hallie Goad's farm about ten miles west of Leavenworth. The General Assembly provided by a subsequent act that Smith must run the road through Fredonia which was one of the points mentioned in the original law. A part of the act reads as follows:

And whereas much dissatisfaction prevails among the citizens in consequence of an expressed determination of the commissioner to change the road so that it will not run through the town of Fredonia. On that account be it further enacted that John L. Smith of Leavenworth shall not be permitted to make any change so as to prevent its passing through the town of Fredonia but shall be governed by the original law which makes Fredonia one of the points through which the road was to pass.

At that time there was a struggle going on between the two towns of Fredonia and Leavenworth. Each wanted the county seat. The above quotation shows how Leavenworth was prevented from running the road about two miles north of Fredonia. Out of justice to Smith one ought to say that the town of Fredonia was out of the way about two miles. The map of the roads will show this.⁵

⁵ *Indiana State Laws*, 1831, 135; *Indiana State Laws*, 1832, 27.

One may trace out the Salem road on the map. The General Assembly enacted a law on January 8, 1835, which provided for the road. Zebulum Leavenworth represented Crawford county in locating and marking out the road which ran through Milltown. During the Civil war Captain Hines led his band of Confederates down this road to Leavenworth.⁷

The Leavenworth and Paoli road ran north from Leavenworth to Cole's farm, thence to Red House's farm, thence to Archibald's schoolhouse and on to Marengo, and thence to Valeene and Paoli. This road has been relocated in many parts. Part of it can be seen running north where the Leavenworth and Marengo pike crosses the Southern railroad just south of Marengo.

The Fredonia and Rome road was opened about 1832. This road was to be twenty feet wide. It ran from Fredonia southwest to Perry county, passing out of the county about two miles north of the mouth of Little Blue river and the town of Alton. When Hines invaded the county in 1863 he entered Crawford county over the Rome and Fredonia road.⁸

Many more roads were opened up by the commissioners in these early days, one of which ran from Fredonia to Mount Sterling. Zebulum Leavenworth and Seth Leavenworth were the overseers on this road. Cornelius Hall and William Riley were to assist Seth Leavenworth to open up a road from the Governor's Old Trail to the Three Forks of Little Blue river. Part of this road became the Leavenworth and Jasper road and part of the northwest portion became the Leavenworth and the Hartford road. Hartford was situated at the Forks of Little Blue river and much later became the town of English.⁹

Another historic road ran from Leavenworth to the western boundary of Crawford county. Here it formed a part of the road running from Rome to Paoli. It passed Robert Yates' farm and entered Hartford, from thence to Paoli. Robert Yates helped locate this road in Crawford county.¹⁰

About 1832 the board doing county business divided the county into districts so that the road supervisors could do

⁷ *Indiana State Laws*, 1835, 200.

⁸ *Indiana State Laws*, 1834, 320.

⁹ *Indiana State Laws*, 1831-4.

¹⁰ Commissioners' records, March, 1832.

their work more efficiently. Ohio township had four districts, Union township had two, Patoka township four, Sterling township four, Whiskey Run township six, and Jennings township six.¹⁰

The Leavenworth clay turnpike was authorized by the General Assembly in 1829. Julius Woodford, John L. Smtih, and Zebulum Leavenworth were appointed commissioners to locate, survey, and construct the road from Leavenworth twenty miles in the direction of Indianapolis. The pike which was to be any width not exceeding forty feet must be well built and the streams over which the road ran must be well bridged. The course of the road was to be laid off in sections and the construction let out to the lowest bidder, who had to furnish a bond for the faithful performance of his duty. It was required that the road be completed in five years, after which toll gates might be built and fees charged. The fees for riding were: six and one-fourth cents for persons, eighteen and three-fourths cents for carts, twelve and one-half cents for empty carts, fifty cents for loaded wagons, six and one-fourth cents for twenty head of sheep, hogs or cattle.¹¹ The money with which to build this road might be raised by selling stock to the citizens of the county. There are many more provisions of this law, but they are not interesting to the reader. The Leavenworth cousins were trying hard to build up the town of Leavenworth, but this road was not completed.

Most of the roads were entitled to use the three per cent. funds in their construction. Julius Woodford was appointed to receive the money derived from this fund and pay out the same at the bidding of the county commissioners. At that time there were \$200 of the funds.¹²

OCCUPATIONS

When the white men first came over the hills into Crawford county the land was a howling wilderness. Probably not one acre of land was free from trees in the whole county. The first settlers chose the uplands for their homes because the lowlands lacked good drainage and were not healthful.

¹¹ *Laws*, 1829, 92.

¹² *Indiana Laws*, 1831-2-3.

Sometimes the settlers bought the land from the national government before they settled on the land but the great majority settled the land first and later bought it from the government. The price paid the government was \$1.25 per acre. The first hard piece of work for the pioneer was to build a cabin. The logs were plentiful out of which almost all were built. The ground was cleared from trees as fast as the pioneer could manage it. A little garden was planted and a field of corn was cultivated. The early pioneer took his grist many miles to mill where the corn was ground into a coarse meal. A few of the squatters pounded up their corn and made meal out of it in that way. The potato patch was the most important after the corn field. As soon as the man was able he set out a small orchard on the farm.

The early pioneer did not need many things. The woods were full of game and the rivers full of fish. Hence they used wild meat and fish for food. Probably salt was the most difficult of all these foodstuffs to get. There were a few salt springs in the county over in the northwest part, but that region was not settled for a long time. After 1825 the stores at Fredonia and Leavenworth furnished the settlers salt. By that time there was a large river trade and much salt was landed at these ports. Before that time the pioneer went to the salt licks a few of which were Royce's and Rock's in Washington county, French Lick in Orange county and Jackson's Lick in Monroe county. Here he boiled the water down and made him a sack of salt and then rode home on horseback. A few rode to Jeffersonville to buy a sack of salt and came home the next day. Salt was very high in these days. Seth Leavenworth in 1827 tried to get the tax taken off of salt, but the General Assembly refused to pass the bill.¹

The settlers made their own sugar and sirup from the maple trees of which there was a great number in the forests. As late as 1860 the pioneers made large amounts. In 1858, 8,300 pounds were made the value of which was \$584. The other farm products of 1850 in Crawford county were: Wheat, 19,950 bushels; corn, 195,690 bushels; butter, 34,445 pounds;

¹ *Indiana House Journal*, 1827, 243.

hay, 981 tons; flax, 32,517 bushels; silk, \$61; tobacco, 12,555 pounds; rye, 262 bushels; oats, 33,659; wool, 14,054 pounds.²

The products in 1860 were: Wheat, 76,525 bushels; corn, 192,365 bushels; rye, 4,472; oats, 17,462; potatoes, 19,345 bushels; 2,721 barrels of pork, value, \$28,483; apples, value, \$4,434; hay, 1,500 tons; wool, 10,914 pounds; wine, 707 gallons. Just what amount was grown in the early days is impossible to say now on account of the absence of any data on that subject.³

The following table will give the population of the county :

Year	People
1818 -----	2586
1830 -----	3234
1840 -----	5280
1850 -----	6540
1860 -----	8226
1870 -----	9851
1880 -----	12355
1890 -----	13441
1900 -----	13476
1910 -----	12057 ⁴

The potatoes which the people grew were much different from the ones grown nowadays. The leading varieties were pink, peach blow, white peach blow, Prince Albert, early Goodrich, Shaker russet, Mishanocs and the coal boat. In the virgin soil the potatoes grew to be very large. When they were cooked and prepared for eating one could hardly swallow them, they were so strong. They were not comparable with the early Ohio, rural Newyorker, or the Irish cobbler, which are grown at the present time in the northwest.

The farmer did his plowing with a jumping shovel, which had one long share. Nothing was more aggravating than such a plow. If the share caught behind a strong root the plow would either jerk a man severely or jump out of the ground and hit him in the ribs with the handles. Neither

² *Documentary Journals of Indiana*, 1850, 343.

³ *Documentary Journal*, 1860, 170-174.

⁴ For 1818 see *Western Sun*, March 12, 1831; rest of the years see *Year Book* for 1918, 751.

of these was very pleasant to the man who was plowing. The grain was cut with a sickle or a cradle. Much later in the county a reaper was used.

By 1850 the settlers had cleared away much of the timber and probably half of the land was under cultivation. The land was very suitable for fruit growing. Many farmers had large orchards in which many varieties of apples grew. The leading ones were summer queen, pearmain, maiden blush, rambo, russet, fall pippin, belle flower, Hall's seedling, horse apple, Rhode Island greening, jannet, Smith's cider, Carolina red, winesap, limbertwig, and the New York pippin. Many farmers had a great variety of these apples. The reports of the state fairs held in Indiana showed that men often received prizes for the best exhibit of twenty-five different kinds of apples, and fifteen different kinds of pears.

Certain years the farmers did not plant much corn. They would climb the beech and the oak trees in the early spring and see if the trees would have a crop of the mast or beech-nuts and acorns. At that time of the year there was a little flower on the trees if they were to grow fruit that year. In case of the fruit being grown on the trees then there was no need for much corn. The mast would fatten the hogs well and the meat was thought to be better.

By 1818 the Indians had gone but the woods were full of wild animals of all kinds, the most dangerous of which were the panther, the bear, the wolf and the wild cat. Of course these animals did not attack man often but they were a great bother in carrying away the young pigs and other stock of the farmer.

Peter Peckinpugh who owned a large farm in the southern part of Ohio township kept several wolf hounds in these early days. One night about 9 o'clock he heard the hogs making a noise down at the pen where he had a few young pigs. He let the dogs out of the kennel and ran down to the pen with a handspike in his hands of which he always kept one near the house. Before he arrived the dogs had caught some animal and were engaged in a terrible fight. It seemed that two of the big dogs had caught the varmit by the neck and the other one had it by the hips in which condition they were just circling around on the ground.

Watching his chance he hit down between them and broke its back. The dogs soon killed the animal then. When day came they found that the animal was a large panther that measured about eight feet in length.

The county commissioners, in compliance with the state law, offered a bounty of one dollar for each wolf scalp the farmers would bring in. John Stone, James Land, Nathan Ruth, Dan Farley, Enos Campbell, and Edmund Ardach were allowed \$1 each for wolf scalps in November, 1827.⁶

Aside from these dangerous animals the woods were full of rabbits, squirrels, and many other smaller animals. Hence the country was a hunter's paradise which enabled him to live on wild meat most all the time.

Big Blue river, Little Blue river, Turkey Fork, Slick Run and the other streams were full of fish such as the blue cat, the yellow, the pike, sunfish, bass, and various other kinds. Men spent much time in fishing every spring and summer.

The main wealth of the county was in its timber, of which there was a great amount and for which there was a ready market. Many men were engaged in coopering the rough barrels which were filled with apples and lime while the tight barrels were filled with molasses or apple brandy. The amount of brandy made in the county was very large. Most of it was shipped south to New Orleans where there was a ready market for that product. The timber was sawn and shipped out in almost all forms. At one time acres of ground at Leavenworth and Fredonia were covered with the lumber. When the rise in the river came then the big steamboats would load on the freight and steam away with the lumber. The large boats were the *Bostonia*, *Belle Key*, *Shotwell*, *Memphis*, and the *Eclipse*. The *Eclipse* and the *Shotwell* were floating palaces and can not be described well. Many large staves (pipe for wine barrels) were made and sold in the south out of which the men made tobacco hogsheads or sugar hogsheads.

Another great export was lime. Many kilns were made and burned and the product loaded on the boats and shipped south.

⁶ Commissioners' records for November 5, 1827.

or to New Albany and Jeffersonville, where there was a ready market for the product.⁷

At Leavenworth and other towns many large barges were built for carrying freight. The barges were loaded with apples, lime, hay, corn, and many other products. The lime was generally put on a flat boat so that the barrels were protected from the rain in foul weather. When the barges were loaded one good boat could tow several barges.

In 1830 Daniel Lyons began the business of making skiffs for sale. He made a good grade of skiffs which were sold to men on the Ohio river. Before long these skiffs were known from Pittsburgh to the Gulf of Mexico. As far as known no one ever complained about the skiffs. When he died the work of the skiff factory was carried on by his sons, S. P. Lyons and W. A. Lyons. These men used the same good material and judgment in the selection and shaping the boats that their father had used and if any thing the boys put out a better grade of boats than their father had. About 1885 Norton Whitcomb bought out S. P. Lyons' share of the factory and is now one of the managers. At present the old shop has about three men employed in the factory and still turn out the high grade of boats whose reputation has been so high and so well deserved.⁸

The flat boat trade was very important during the early days of the county's history. The boats were about the size of barges and were covered to protect the crew from the winds and the cargo from the rain and the snow. On the top of the boat and at each end was a steering oar by which the boat was guided. Guiding the boat and rowing it to the shore was very hard work. There were about five men on the boat besides the cook. When the boat was loaded and ready to start the men guided it out into the river and let it drift gently down. Stops were made at most towns and the produce on the boat was sold and other cargoes taken on the boat too. By the time the boat arrived at New Orleans the cargo was sold and the boat was sold or the owner had some steamboat

⁷ Information furnished by E. P. Leavenworth, of Leavenworth, whose father founded the town.

⁸ Information furnished by Norton Whitcomb, of Leavenworth, one of the owners of the skiff shop.

to tow it back. Yet he could hire a new one built cheaper than paying for the towing of the old one back, it was generally left.

Life on the flat boat was very pleasant in beautiful weather, but woe betide the crew of the boat when it was caught out on the swift Ohio or on the broad Mississippi when a storm arose. Two men were put at each oar and the boat was rowed ashore by the big steering oars. Then the boat was tied up till fair weather came. The writer has heard old boatmen tell that they were so tired and their arms were so sore that they could not comb their hair after rowing the boat ashore in such a storm. Sometimes it took a day or more to get to shore if the wind set wrong. During the early history of the county the flat boat trade was very large. The boats carried away very much produce and gave an outlet for the products of the county the chief of which were lime, whiskey, corn, smoked meat, and various products from the forests.

Meat packing was one of the chief industries of the county. The hogs which ran out to the commons generally took care of themselves. Often they would stand on their hind feet and eat the bark off of the slippery elms as high as they could reach. For that reason they were called "elm peelers." When the mast was ripe the hogs grew fat in the fall and were ready for butchering. They were driven to the banks of the Ohio river and there men were hired to help butcher the hogs and smoke the meat. When the meat was ready for shipment it was placed on the flat boat or on the steamboat and shipped south to New Orleans, where there was a ready market for all the county could ship there.

The farmer's stock ran out to the commons till about 1887. After that date the stock was kept up in the farmer's own pasture. If the stock was caught out the road supervisor was empowered to empound such stock till the owner paid the fine and the damage if there was any.

When the stock was running out men had much trouble to keep their stock distinguished from their neighbor's. Many resorted to the ear mark. John Sheckels of Ohio township claimed that his ear mark for cattle was a slit in the left ear

and an under cut in the right ear. The above statement of Mr. Sheckels was recorded at Fredonia in October, 1837.⁹

The still house was another leading industrial establishment. Apples grew in the county by thousands of bushels and were made into apple brandy which was shipped away very easily. Many old traces of the still houses can still be seen in the county.

One ugly feature of the whole flat boat trade was the danger of robbers. Of a night in many places watches were kept on the boat to keep off the robbers who did not hesitate to kill if it was necessary to get the cargo. The following article was taken from the New Albany *Tribune* and may be seen here:

"We are indebted to Captain Vansickle for the account that three men were murdered on the Ohio river near Troy (Perry county), Indiana, while working on a flat boat. The boat which had been sunk in five feet water had been deserted for many hours. It was a large boat about 95 feet long and loaded with flour, whiskey, and groceries. The boat was named Eliza No. 2. The boat which presented a ghastly sight was marked with blood from one end to the other. The bodies of two of the dead men were found in the boat and the third body was found in the water. The one in the water had weights fastened to it. The men evidently were killed with a hatchett for one was found near which was covered with blood. Their skulls had been crushed in by the severe strokes of the hatchet, and there were various wounds of many kinds found on their bodies. From the appearance many believe that the crew might have mutinied part killing the rest and then robbing the boat of what they could get away with."¹⁰

The leading imports were salt, ammunition, and guns. Most of the men made their own clothes and shoes. Coffee and foreign merchandise of various kinds were on hands at the store for sale.

Corn and wheat were ground into meal and flour by the old time mill. The best known of these mills were Leggett's,

⁹ Information from the old ear mark book in the county recorder's office at English, Indiana.

¹⁰ New Albany *Daily Tribune*, October 30, 1852.

near where Alton now stands and Leavenworth's mills at Leavenworth and at Milltown, Indiana. Mention is made of these old mills in the county records as early as 1827.

These mills were run by water power or by horse power. A dam was built across the stream and the water was used to furnish the power. The first mill driven by steam was located at Leavenworth about 1830. The two Leavenworth cousins did the managing of the mill there. Much later Carnes, Lake and Benham built mills all of which did excellent work.¹¹

These mills did grinding on certain days of each week. On these days the pioneers came with their grist of corn. The first come was the first served. While the men were waiting for their grist they generally indulged in wrestling or other amusements. When the writer's father was a little boy he went with some men to one of these old mills. The weather was very inclement and the men were in the shelter waiting their turn telling ghost stories. They could not see where the meal was coming out from where they were. Suddenly they heard two hounds which belonged to one of the men barking every now and then. Soon the men went out to see what was the matter and found the two dogs up in the box where the meal came out. They ate the meal about as fast as it came out and then were barking for more. After that one of the men stayed by the meal when the wolf hounds were present with the owners.

While the men were waiting for their grists they told ghost stories and commented on the wonderful feat of prowess each one had committed once upon a time. The men who did not get their grinding till after dark and had to ride home through the dark while their fancies were active thought that they saw ghosts of all sorts. These old settlers were very superstitious and believed in spirits of all sorts. They saw signs in the heavens and wonders in the earth beneath. They would not begin a job of work on Friday. If they saw the moon through brush that was a bad sign. The potatoes must be planted when the sign was right. Yet in the good old days the men had their joys and were happy, I presume, as they are in our modern times.

¹¹ Leavenworth, *Genealogy Book*.

Transportation of Pottawattomies

THE DEPORTATION OF MENOMINEE AND HIS TRIBE OF THE POTTAWATTOMIE INDIANS

By BENJAMIN F. STUART, Burnetts Creek, Ind.

The deportation of Chief Menominee and his tribe of Pottawattomie Indians from their reservation at Twin Lakes in Marshall county, in September, 1838, covers one of the darkest pages in the history of our state and has no parallel in the annals of American history. The farther in time we get away from this event the plainer will this appear and the more interest will be attached to the route which is consecrated by the blood of that helpless people at the hands of a civilized and christian state. Much of this route in this state is a public highway, which I name "The Pottawattomie Trail."

The Pottawattomie Indians originally occupied the territory north of the Wabash river to Chicago and Michigan. Their conversion to the Christian religion through the Catholic faith dated back to 1680. When they did become converted they were nearly as firm and devout as were the primitive Christians. When the priests would leave them, they would teach each other and tried hard to preserve the religious influence they had previously enjoyed. Until Bishop Brute was appointed for Vincennes in 1834, they were only visited by priests from that place and Detroit. At this time they numbered four thousand souls.

One of the first cares of the bishop was to visit this mission which was the only one in northern Indiana, and make provision for their spiritual welfare. He caused to be erected a two-story hewn-log chapel on the north side of the lake. Near this spot stands a monument, erected to their memory through the efforts of Daniel McDonald.

Rev. M. Desseils of Michigan was put in charge of this mission and the results were wonderful. The impulse given by the bishop was such that their reverence for the black

gowns which their fathers had transmitted to them, that they vowed if the great spirit would send them another person to minister to their spiritual welfare, they would listen to his instructions and they came by hundreds to demand them and ask for baptism.

Rev. Desseils baptized a quarter of those who had previously been heathens and soon after that he died. The work to which he had been exposed brought on a spell of sickness that left him almost at the point of death, but feeling that his last moments were fast approaching, he aroused himself and met his faithful children at the altar and while attending them with his dying hands, the last duties enjoined on him by his Master, expired on its very steps. Those who had watched him with much anxiety, and unwilling to believe that their master was dead, and hoping he was only sleeping, remained in prayer by his corpse for four days when another clergyman arrived to perform the funeral rites over his body.

Rev. Desseils' successor was Benjamin Petit, a young Frenchman, who had left his native land and the profession of law to devote his life as a priest. He did not know their language, but the ardor of his zeal helped him soon to learn it. Wondering at his kindness and pleasant manner, they said he was not a black gown from a foreign land, but a redskin like themselves.

Previous to this time, President Jackson, after being importuned to extinguish the title to the lands held by the Indians in northern Indiana, appointed as commissioners, Governor Jonathan Jennings, John W. Davis and Mark Crume. A large number of prominent Indians were present, among them being Wa-She-Anas, Wa-Ban-She, Aub-Bee-Naabee and others, and also Captain Bouri. This conference was held at Chippewa, on the banks of the Tippecanoe, north of Rochester, on October twenty-sixth, 1832, the twentieth treaty.

Governor Jennings, as usual, had imbibed too freely and his conduct so disgusted the Indians that it came near disrupting the whole conference. After a stormy session of several days, the treaty was concluded and by its terms all the land held by them in northern Indiana was ceded to the government, except certain allotments around Twin Lakes and north of them. This treaty included one of their largest

villages and a Catholic mission on the banks of the Tippecanoe.

The President did not ratify this treaty until 1836. Meanwhile the trappers, squatters, land sharks and all rushed in, which was in direct violation of the policy of the government, as the President had called the attention of Congress to information in similar cases.

At this conference the government had forbidden any intoxicating liquor being brought on the grounds. When "Jack Douglas" brought some fine wine and brandies, it, of course, was confiscated and put in the council chamber of one of the commissioners for safe keeping and ready to use as the occasion might require. This proved to be one of the essentials in making this treaty. The terms of this treaty were obtained through persuasion, liquor, bribery, threats and intimidation, and perhaps that is why its ratification was held up for four years. Were a set of men to appeal to our federal court today to confirm their title to a piece of real estate obtained by such methods as did these commissioners employ, the court would dismiss the case, give the appellants a severe reprimand and order their arrest before they got out of the city.

The terms of this treaty were not what was desired by the land sharks, and their next move was to have Colonel Abel Pepper, the Indian agent, who was stationed at Logansport, buy these allotments, but after several attempts he failed.

The next move was to have the state legislature memorialize the federal government to extinguish the title to these lands. Consequently President Jackson appointed John T. Douglas (perhaps the "Jack Douglas" that took part in the conference of 1832), as commissioner, and the Indians were represented by Chee-Chan-Chosee-As-Kum, Wee-Saw-Muk-Koxie, Quin-Quit-To-On. Historians disagree as to the time and place of this treaty. Thomas B. Helms, of Logansport, a very reliable historian, says it was made in Washington, D. C., February 11, 1837, and was ratified within one week from its conclusion, all of which appears very plausible and is also confirmed by Menomine in his speech.

This treaty was a ratification of all former treaties and it was further stipulated that they would move at the end of

two years to lands provided for them by the government, along the Osage river in Kansas, the expense of the removal and one year's subsistence was to be met by the government. By the terms of the treaty of 1832, Menomine and his tribe, which numbered about 1,500 Indians, were allotted about twenty sections of land around Twin Lakes and extended to within a mile of Plymouth. Their principal village covered nearly two sections north of the lakes and consisted of one hundred wigwams or huts. They raised corn and vegetables as a part means of subsistence. They were peaceable and friendly to the whites who would often attend their church.

Father Benjamin Petit had charge of the mission, as has been previously stated, and they would come for miles, form large congregations, and were very devout in their mode of worship. Some of them had received an English education and were in a fair way to be assimilated into a loyal citizenship. But this was not to be and as soon as this supposed treaty was made known, they were harassed by land sharks or their agents, squatters and trappers.

Colonel Abel Pepper was also nagging at them to move, and at a council at Pretty Lake, he threatened to remove them by force. When all had had their say, Menomine arose, his white head towering above all others, with the dignity of Daniel Webster and just as defiant, said in substance :

The President does not know the truth. He, like me, has been deceived. He does not know that your treaty is a lie and that I never have signed it. He does not know that you made my chiefs drunk, got their consent, and pretended to get mine. He does not know that I have refused to sell my lands and still refuse. He would not by force drive me from my home, the graves of my tribe and children, who have gone to the Great Spirit, nor to allow you to tell me that your braves will take me, tied like a dog, if he knew the truth. My brother, the President is just, but he listens to his young chiefs, who have lied. When he knows the truth, he will leave me to my own. I have not sold my lands. I will not sell them; I have not signed any treaty, and I shall not sign any. I am not going to leave my land. I do not want to hear anything more about it.

And amid the applause of his chiefs, he sat down.

This speech, delivered in the peculiar style of the Indian orator presented one of those very rare occasions of which

history gives few instances, and would have made a profound impression on any one except those who could see nothing but those broad acres of fine land.

Andrew Jackson was President when this supposed treaty was made. He stated that it was the policy of the government to deal fairly with the Indians, pay them for their lands, obtain their consent for possession and removal, and whenever possible teach them the arts of civilization, that in time they would assimilate and become loyal citizens. He had previously called on congress for an investigation of cases that had come to his knowledge of where the whites had infringed on the lands of the redmen, and vice versa.

That it was the duty of the federal government to extinguish the title to lands held by the Indians, and when it did that, the matter rested with the state, and the Indians could leave or stay, but were amenable to the laws of the state; and any further interference on the part of the federal government would be an infringement on the rights of the state and was dangerous.

Now to charge my country and your country, a Christian nation, with being guilty of making this attack on christianity and civilization is wrong, not sustained by facts and is an unjust accusation. As to Colonel Abel Pepper, he was a man in form, a fiend, a pliable tool in the hands of Gov. David R. Wallace, father of Gen. Lew Wallace, and those who coveted these lands.

During the summer of 1838, preparations were made to remove the Indians by force. The Indians were aware of this and had resolved to fight, when, through the counsel of Father Petit, and on his promise to accompany them to their new home, they promised him if the worst did come, they would submit peacefully. This averted a general massacre.

The Catholic church had labored with these people for over one hundred and fifty years, oftentimes at the cost of the lives of her priests. She had seen her missions swept aside one by one until only this one remained. True to her trust, she stood by these people and used her influence to stay the hand of execution, but all in vain, all the time counseling them to avoid shedding blood.

The work of destruction began in August, 1838, when a body of men entered their village, took possession of their crops, and lands, which was resisted by the Indians driving them out and tearing down their shanties. The crisis came when the cabin of Mr. Waters was torn down by the Indians, and then he and others in return burned some of their huts. A courier was sent to notify their agent, Colonel Pepper, at Logansport, who was sent on to Indianapolis to notify the Governor. Gov. Wallace authorized Gen. John Tipton to raise an army and proceed to Twin Lakes and remove them. This removal had been planned to take place later in the fall. This army was made up of troops from Lafayette, Logansport, South Bend and Laporte.

Col. Pepper invited all the tribe to a council to be held at the village on August 29. Not knowing that they were being decoyed, many of them assembled and at the time Mr. Pepper was pretending to hold a council, Gen. Tipton appeared with his army, which were secreted, surrounded the village and made all, between three and four hundred, prisoners. He then proceeded to the church where they were engaged in worship and made his presence known by firing guns and surrounding the church and made all within prisoners. This is the first and only time a religious meeting was broken up and the worshipers made prisoners like a lot of law violators by the order of the governor of our state, whose sworn duty it was to protect them. They pled for mercy and to be let alone, but all to no effect as General Tipton was a military man and knew to obey orders. When evening came and they did not return home others were sent out in search of them and they too were made prisoners. All of these were held under guard while other troops were scouring the reservation for others and destroying their homes. They also rounded up about four hundred ponies that were to be used in their journey.

Many tragic scenes were enacted in this round-up. Some fought like demons till they were overpowered and roped; some went in hiding, others sought shelter in Michigan. In one case where they had surrounded the hut and called on the Indian to surrender, he sprang for his tomahawk and rifle and when he saw the cross, which the priest wore,

he threw down his weapons, crossed his arms and held them out to be tied. This work was kept up until they had gathered near fifteen hundred and had placed 859 names on roll. Father Petit was permitted to assemble them for a final service. He says:

At the moment of my departure I assembled all my children to speak to them for the last time. I wept and they sobbed aloud. It was a sorrowful sight and over this, our dying mission, we prayed for the success of those missions that they would establish in their new home to which they were being driven.

On the Sunday before their departure, they were visited by many whites who came to bid them farewell. No doubt there were some in that assemblage whose consciences were not at rest. On the last day they were permitted, under guard, to visit the graves of their departed friends, and held an impressive service, heart-rending scenes that were indescribable were witnessed. General Tipton went prepared with sixty wagons and hired teams of horses and oxen. In the meantime these were being loaded with their goods, such as would be needed, the old, sick, of which there were over one hundred, the women and children.

On September 4, 1838, they were lined up, some afoot, some on ponies, followed by the wagons, and all heavily guarded with a lot of guards at the rear with bayonets, which were often used to keep the weak ones in the procession. Before starting the torch was applied to their village, so that they might see their homes destroyed and they would not want to return. When all was in readiness, this grewsome procession, nearly three miles long, like a funeral procession, which in reality it was, started on its final journey. It was a very sickly season. The sun was hot and the road was dry and dusty. They drove down the Michigan road to Chipewewa, on the Tippecanoe, where they camped the night of the fourth. Here more was added to their cup of sorrow. They wished to take their dead with them and when this was denied, they had to leave them at the roadside or camping ground, hence every camping ground was a burial ground.

In making preparations for this expedition it was thought a picnic and many volunteers were turned away, but at the

end of the first day, twenty of the troops, heartsick, stole twenty of the Indians' ponies and deserted the command.

September 5 they moved down to Mud creek, which is the name applied to the upper course of Big Indian creek, where they camped. There was much suffering for water, as many of the streams were dry, and food, as but little preparation had been made for this. September 6 they reached Logansport and camped on Honey creek for three days and nights. The physicians of the city came out and rendered what aid they could to the sick. While here two adults and several children died, and were buried just north of the Vandalia railroad. These people were human beings and the love of parent for their offspring was strong. Then think what must have been their grief in taking up their march, and the anxiety of the father at the close of the day to learn of the condition of his family.

September 10 they started on their march down Michigan avenue to Eel river, then down the north side of the Wabash river, through Georgetown and forded Crooked creek near the mouth; thence on to the county line, then followed the bank of the river to a creek. On the west side of this creek was old Winamac's village and is about eleven miles below Logansport. They reached this point at 5 p. m., and camped there. I name this Menominee's camping ground on September 10, 1838.

September 11, at 10:00 a. m., they took up their march. Here the road left the river and followed the foot of the bluff to the Jacob Mullendore farm. From here they followed the top of the bluff to Little Burnett's creek, then at the foot of the bluff through Lockport. On the hillside north of the road is a spring, which was much larger then than it is now. Here some of the Indians were permitted to drink. This spring I name the Pottawattomie spring. From here they followed the foot of the bluff to the line between the Schneip and Kirkpatrick farms to the river, thence west to Rattle Snake. They forded the creek, ascended the Gilliam hill, where there was a camping ground for tribes that had preceded this one; thence on a line through Conner's reserve to Pleasant Run creek, where they went into camp, after traveling all day in the hot sun, enveloped in a cloud of dust. Cruelty unspeakable! Out-

rage infinite! For such were the scenes witnessed that night in the grove along the creek whose waters went rippling along to swell the mighty deep. With their condition growing worse every day, one cannot help but wonder if their faith in the God of mercy, whom they had learned to worship, will hold out. May the great Ruler of nations never again permit Indiana to be disgraced by such scenes as were witnessed in Carroll county those two days and nights while passing through it, should be the prayer of every liberty loving citizen.

September 12 they took up their line of march by following the road up the hill, crossed the range line to the creek and followed it to Pittsburg. The *Delphi Oracle* of September 15, 1838, edited by Henry B. Milroy, said:

The tribe of Pottawattomie Indians passed down on the west side of the Wabash river a few days ago on their way to their new home along the Osage river in Kansas. The procession is very imposing, covering a distance of nearly three miles, all in charge of Gen. John Tipton who will place them in charge of Judge Polk at the state line.

From here they followed the Delphi and Battleground road along the bank of the Wabash to the Case farm, fording the Tippecanoe river at 11:00 a. m., at Hog's point and reached Battleground at noon. They camped near here the night of the twelfth. It was here that General Tipton distributed \$5,000 worth of goods to allay the discontent and revive their spirits. This only proved temporary.

September 13 they traveled seventeen miles and reached Lagrange where they camped. Heat and dust getting worse, teams worn out, many of the troops sick and unable to proceed, Dr. Richie and son, attending physicians, nearly out of medicine, one hundred and sixty sick Indians, large numbers had to be left to their fate along the road and the children dying at the rate of three to five per day, the faith that had carried them thus far was being shaken and the Indian spirit of freedom or death was showing itself. It was at this time Colonel Pepper and General Tipton began to come to their senses. General Tipton sent an urgent message back to Father Petit to hasten to his aid, and by permission of Bishop Brute, he started.

September 14 they reached Williamsport where they camped and on Sunday, September 16, near Perrysville, Father Petit came up to them. He says:

I came in sight of my poor christian children marching in a line, guarded by soldiers, who hastened their steps, a burning hot sun cast its rays down upon them. After them came the wagons, into which were crowded the women, children, the sick and dying. Almost all the babies were dead or dying. I baptized several newly born babes, whose first step was from exile to heaven.

At Danville on September 18, the command was handed over to Judge William Polk, who was appointed by the government to receive them. After resting two days they took up their line of march, leaving six graves under the shadow of the cross.

Their hardships only increased as they moved along over the parched prairie, no water and the nights growing cooler. After near two months' journey, the remnant of the tribe reached the Osage river with a loss of one-fifth of its original number, besides the great number of children. Father Petit was so worn out, that he could not return at once as directed by the Bishop, but as soon as he was able he started on his return and reached St. Louis, where he died. His remains now lie at Notre Dame beside those of Father Desseils. Of all the names connected with this crime, there is one, Father Benjamin Petit, the Christian martyr, which stands like a star in the firmament, growing brighter and will shine on through ages to come.

In conclusion, if the reader, in his imagination, will go with me where the trail crosses the highway near the Rattlesnake bridge, not far from the banks of the Wabash, I will show him a pen picture, part of which was drawn by an eyewitness. He said:

It was a sad and mournful spectacle to see those children of the forest as they slowly retired from the homes of their childhood; as they cast mournful glances backward to the loved scenes that were fading in the distance, tears fell from the eyes of the warriors, old men trembled, matrons wept, and the swarthy cheek of the maiden turned pale. Sighs and half suppressed sobs escaped from the motley group as they passed along, some on foot, some on ponies and others in wagons, all driven, like

cattle to the shambles, to a strange country they knew not where. I saw several of the warriors casting glances toward the sky as if they were imploring aid from the spirits of their departed heroes, who were looking down from the clouds, or from the Great Spirit who would ultimately redress the wrongs of the red man, whose broken bow had fallen from his hands and whose sad heart was bleeding within him.

Oh Civilization! what crimes are committed in thy name!

Dear reader, in fancy, I stood there at midnight, the moon shone in all its splendor with nothing to break the stillness of the night save the occasional hooting of an owl, when I heard the hoofs of a horse as he came galloping down the Gilliam hill. I heard him as he splashed through the creek, and as he passed by, I saw he carried a messenger, but it was not Paul Revere. The next day at 10:00 a. m., looking to the east I saw a cloud of dust, then came galloping down the road a horse and rider, and as he drew near, I saw that it was not Phil Sheridan, but Father Petit, hastening on to comfort his people and to counsel them to humbly submit to the will of David Wallace, the governor of the Christian state of Indiana.

You need not go to Concord, nor Winchester, nor any battle field to learn of deeds of heroism, nor to far off Acadia and behold the burning of Grand Pre to learn of the injustice meted out to the weak by the strong and greedy, if you study the history of your state, Indiana, our own Indiana.

The Knownothing Party In Indiana

(Continued)

By CARL BRAND

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1856 IN INDIANA

The year 1856 marked the advent of the Know Nothings into national politics, for their first and only presidential campaign. Circumstances seemed favorable for the success of a new party. The Democratic administration had given universal dissatisfaction to the north. A revival of the Whig party was conceded to be hopeless. The Republican party was not yet organized on a national basis, but it was already beginning to overshadow the American movement in the north. Which one of the two would survive to contest future elections with the Democracy depended largely on the issue of the campaign of 1856.

The Grand Council was to meet at Philadelphia February 18, 1856. As this body did not have the power to nominate candidates, President Bartlett of the Grand Council issued a call for a national convention to be held at the same place four days later. Each state delegation was to consist of one delegate from each congressional district and two from the state at large.¹ As a matter of fact the same representatives were to compose both council and convention.

Since the Indiana delegation at Cincinnati had acquiesced in the move for a reunion with the Grand Council, preparations were made to send representatives to the Philadelphia session. The "twelfth section" issue however was not allowed to go unnoticed. If not expunged it would prevent a union of the anti-slavery forces and make certain the election of a Democrat. Another view was that it introduced the question of slavery where nothing should have been said on the subject.² For either the former or the latter reason most of

¹ Richmond *Jeffersonian*, December 6, 1855.

² Terre Haute *Wabash Courier*, January 19, 1856; New Albany *Tribune*, February 27, 1856.

the Indiana Americans favored the excision of the twelfth section.

The First district convention met at Princeton, January 22, 1856.³ As the Know Nothings of the First district were the strongest "South" Americans in Indiana, the delegates were mostly "twelfth section" men, in favor of non-interference on slavery. Delegates were in attendance from Vanderburg, Warrick, Posey, Knox, and Gibson counties. Judge Samuel Hall of Princeton was chairman; James A. Mason of the *Vincennes Gazette* and Addison H. Sanders of the *Evansville Journal*, secretaries. A. M. Phelps of Warrick county was appointed a delegate to the national convention with James A. Mason as alternate, and was instructed to vote for Millard Fillmore. A series of resolutions was adopted which would satisfy the straightest Americans. It called for a revision of the laws on suffrage; none but Americans in spirit and in thought should rule America; the Bible should be kept in the schools; and the union must be preserved. Any mention of the slavery issue or the Kansas-Nebraska question was carefully avoided. These resolutions are noteworthy as the only case in which an important body in Indiana put forth a platform that was strictly American, and not tainted with "abolitionism."

On February 8, the Americans of the Seventh district held their convention at Greencastle. General G. K. Steele of Rockville was appointed as delegate with instructions to vote for Fillmore.⁴

There is no record of any other district convention. William Sheets, president of the order, and Solomon Meredith were delegates, but whether elected by district convention or appointed by the state council for the state at large is uncertain.

The Grand Council met at Philadelphia February 18, 1856. Sheets, Phelps, and Meredith constituted the Indiana delegation. In the absence of President Bartlett, Sheets was called

³ Accounts of the convention are to be found in the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, January 11, 1856; *Indianapolis Journal*, January 26, February 18, 1856; *Princeton Democratic Clarion*, January 26, 1856; *New Albany Tribune*, February 6, 1856; *Richmond Jeffersonian*, January 31, 1856.

⁴ *Terre Haute Wabash Courier*, February 16, 1856; *New Albany Tribune*, February 20, 1856.

to the chair and made the opening address, in which he expressed the hope that sectional issues would be laid aside and that the true spirit of American principles might reign supreme in the convention.⁵ But the slavery question would not down. Sheets made a speech in which he assured the southern members that the "twelfth section" must be expunged if the party wished to carry the north.⁶ In spite of his efforts to propitiate the pro-slavery members, he gained the name of "rank abolitionist" for himself. After two days of exciting debate the "twelfth section" was abolished and a new plank inserted which declared merely for the enforcement of all laws constitutionally enacted until their repeal.⁷ The eighth section was altered in such manner as to please the Louisiana Catholics.⁸ The new platform was adopted by a vote of 108 to 77; Sheets and Phelps voting with the majority and Meredith with the minority.⁹ While the north had gained the repeal of the "twelfth section," the conservatives were successful in resisting all attempts to commit the order to any principle of emancipation. The Grand Council finished its work on February 21, having returned to the policy of neutrality and non-interference.

On February 22 the national council reorganized as a nominating convention. A resolution was introduced that the national council had no authority to prescribe a platform of principles for the nominating convention and that no candidates for president and vice-president who were not in favor of interdicting slavery north of 36° 30' should be nominated by the convention. It was tabled by a vote of 141 to 59.¹⁰ A motion to proceed to the nominations was carried, whereupon most of the anti-slavery delegates, including all from New England, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Ohio, and others

⁵ Indianapolis *Journal*, February 20, 1856.

⁶ Appendix to *Congressional Globe*, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 1019; Indianapolis *Sentinel*, March 3, April 8, 1856; Indianapolis *Journal*, May 1, 1856. Although the Indianapolis *Sentinel* makes many assertions to the contrary, Sheets was instrumental in securing the repeal of the "twelfth section." Cf. the references cited in the *Sentinel* to those in the *Journal* and the *Congressional Globe*.

⁷ See the Indianapolis *Journal*, February 29, 1856, for the entire platform.

⁸ Logansport *Journal*, March 1, 1856.

⁹ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, March 3, 1856; Rockport *Democrat*, March 8, 1856.

¹⁰ Indianapolis *Journal*, February 27, 1856.

from Iowa, Illinois, and Pennsylvania, withdrew from the convention.¹¹ The Indiana delegates retained their seats and did not join the bolters.¹² The convention then proceeded with the nominations. Sheets wished a nomination postponed, but was overruled.¹³ Millard Fillmore, of New York, and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee, were made the candidates for president and vice-president, respectively. The vote of the Indiana delegation stood, two for McLean and one for Fillmore, the latter vote being cast by Phelps.¹⁴ Because of their failure to withdraw the Indiana delegates were regarded as being favorably disposed toward the South American faction.¹⁵

The seceders met at Merchants' hall with Lieutenant Governor Ford, of Ohio, presiding. Indiana was not represented among the sixty-seven delegates. They issued an address protesting against the nomination of Fillmore and the admission of the Catholic Louisiana delegates, and demanding the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line. Solomon Meredith was put on the executive committee for Indiana. He was not in the seceders' convention but had voted against the nomination of Fillmore.¹⁶ The seceders, who were known as North Americans, issued a call for a convention to be held at New York, June 12, 1856.

Neither the platform nor the candidate of the convention aroused much enthusiasm in Indiana. The *Evansville Journal*, *Vincennes Gazette*, *Paoli Constitutionalist*, *Rising Sun Visitor*, and a few other papers were said to endorse the platform fully.¹⁷ The *Indianapolis Journal* had been a strong sympathizer with American views but its attitude toward the platform reflects that held by the anti-slavery wing of the Amer-

¹¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 3, 1856; *Princeton Democratic Clarion*, March 1, 1856.

¹² *Richmond Jeffersonian*, April 10, 1856; *New Albany Tribune*, March 5, 1856; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 3, 1856.

¹³ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 1, 1856.

¹⁴ *New Albany Tribune*, March 5, 1856; *Richmond Jeffersonian*, April 10, 1856; *Indianapolis Journal*, May 1, 1856.

¹⁵ *Madison Courier*, March 5, 1856.

¹⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, February 28; March 3, 1856. Indiana is not listed in any contemporary account, as represented in the convention, although the *Journal* of November 23, 1856, makes the statement that Sheets and Meredith were both present. Cf. the *Journal* for February 28, and March 3, 1856.

¹⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 3, 6, 1856.

icans, which was rapidly becoming identified with the Republican movement:

We find more to disapprove in what the platform leaves unsaid, than in what it says. The whole slavery question, its extension, nationalization, the fraud by which it gained entrance into and the violence by which it strives to keep its hold of, the new territories, are utterly ignored.¹⁸

Nativism was made the issue; there was a complete abandonment of all the Republicans were working for.¹⁹

The nomination of Fillmore upon such a platform was thought to be dictated by southern influence:

It is the work of Southern States and twelfth section delegates generally. It is a nomination by those favorable to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and opposed to its restoration. It is a nomination of those advocating the Southern doctrine of the extension of slavery. We look upon the whole affair as most disastrous to the fair character and claims of Millard Fillmore. . . . No one can suppose that a nomination from such a source can be anything other than sectional.²⁰

Such was the opinion of a paper favorable to Fillmore personally. Another American paper, the *Aurora Standard*, took somewhat the same stand:

At almost any other time we should have hailed the nomination of Millard Fillmore with delight. . . . But as he has been nominated upon a slavery extension platform we must wait until we hear from him before we promise him our unqualified support. If . . . he will come out firmly in opposition to slavery extension, we shall give him our hearty support, but if he does not, we shall have to look for some other candidate. The time has come when this issue must be met, and if possible, set at rest forever. It cannot be ignored and we will support no man who is disposed to ignore it.²¹

The Richmond *Palladium*, like other Republican papers whose affection for Know Nothingism had cooled since 1854, held that by the nomination the party was harnessed to a faction and committed to the propagandism of slavery, mak-

¹⁸ Indianapolis *Journal*, February 29, 1856.

¹⁹ Indianapolis *Journal*, March 1, 1856.

²⁰ Terre Haute *Wabash Courier*, March 1, 1856.

²¹ Indianapolis *Journal*, March 14, 1856.

ing the north fight for the Fugitive Slave law and sustain the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise.²²

The platform and nominee did please one political faction. A remnant of the old Whigs still existed, faithful to Whiggery and unidentified with the other movements of the time although they had long ceased to maintain an organization in Indiana. A portion of these now stood for the same principles as the Americans. They regarded the Philadelphia platform very favorably because it ignored the Kansas-Nebraska question.²³

The main question before the Americans in the early part of 1856 was whether or not they would co-operate with the Republicans in the state campaign. Because of their own weakness and the increased strength of the latter, it was practically certain that they could not direct a fusion movement to their own ends as in 1854. The efficiency of the Know Nothing secret machinery was gone. Many of the lodges had disbanded and many of those who supported Fillmore were not willing to sacrifice their anti-slavery opinions to their Americanism. Yet they claimed to muster fifty thousand votes in the state, a number with which they could do nothing themselves, but without which the Republicans could not hope for victory.²⁴ It was plainly seen that united there was a chance to carry the state; if the Americans put their own ticket in the field, defeat was certain. On the other hand the party might lose its identity by fusing with a stronger movement. Also any union with the Republicans would be certain to incur the displeasure of the southern wing of the party.

The first step toward a fusion was taken by a convention of editors of the People's party at Indianapolis, December 18, 1855. Milton Gregg, of the *New Albany Tribune*, presided and many other American editors were present. The convention endorsed the People's platforms of 1854 and 1855 and recommended the calling of a nominating convention the following May.²⁵ The American papers took up the call and

²² *Richmond Palladium*, March 6, 1856.

²³ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 12, 1856.

²⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 7, 1856.

²⁵ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, December 20, 1855.

urged a full representation of their party at the convention, which was to be held May 1.²⁶

The executive committee of the American state council held a meeting at Indianapolis, April 2, 1856, at which the question of co-operation with the Republicans was debated. The majority favored fusion, so the following circular was issued:

Indianapolis, April 2, 1856.

To the Members of the American Party of Indiana:

At a meeting of the executive committee of the State Council, held at Indianapolis, on the 2nd day of April, 1856, after a full expression of the members upon those questions that have divided and distracted the American party in other States, the committee unanimously adopted the following suggestions and earnestly request the true friends of Americanism to cooperate with them in carrying out the views of the committee: That as in 1854 we stand uncompromisingly opposed to the present corrupt national administration, and as a party we stand ready to cooperate with any party which aims to put an end to its misrule. And further: we regard the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as an infraction of the plighted faith of the nation. The same should be restored, and if efforts to that end fail, Congress should refuse, under all circumstances, to admit any State into the Union tolerating slavery, made free by that compromise. Therefore we approve of the call for a People's convention to be held on the first day of May next, and earnestly call upon the American party throughout the State to send a full delegation to that convention.

WM. SHEETS, Pres't.²⁷

The order of President Sheets was regarded in some quarters as an attempt to sell out the Americans to the "abolitionist" Republican party, but the general temper of the former was favorable to a fusion and full delegations were appointed by the county councils.²⁸

The platforms of former fusion conventions had invariably contained a temperance plank. This time the Harrison County council, desiring to avoid the temperance issue, instructed its delegates,

not to commit the American party to any state issue on temperance but to leave it in such a position that the counties may form their ticket to suit their particular localities.²⁹

²⁶ *New Albany Tribune*, February 13, 1856.

²⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, April 3, 1856; *Brookville Indiana American*, April 11, 1856.

²⁸ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 8, 1856.

²⁹ *New Albany Ledger*, April 30, 1856.

A preliminary meeting of the delegates was held April 30. William Sheets explained the American position: that he and those who had voted with him to repeal the "twelfth section," would do all they could to unite the Americans in the great People's movement of the north.³⁰

The convention met, May 1, 1856. Solomon Meredith, of Richmond, and General G. K. Steele, of Rockville, were the Americans on the nominating committee. They reported a list of officers, naming Henry S. Lane for president. Milton Gregg of New Albany and James N. Ritchey of Franklin were among the vice-presidents.³¹

The harmony that nominally existed between the Republicans and the Americans was broken when David Kilgore, a former Know Nothing, introduced a resolution that the convention should nominate delegates to attend the Republican national convention, the following June. On behalf of the Americans, R. N. Hudson, of the *Terre Haute Express*, protested, saying that as the convention was not exclusively Republican, it could not nominate delegates. But loud cries of "Yes, it is," drowned out his voice and he sat down. Kilgore replied that he was an older and a better American than Hudson, but that Americanism could be postponed while the Kansas question could not, and he hoped that all would unite in securing a representation in the Philadelphia convention. He declared however that no nomination would be made which would "tread upon the toes of the Know Nothings." A Knox county Know Nothing spoke against Kilgore's resolution, but it was of no avail.³² The incident showed the relative weakness of the Americans. The conditions of 1854 were reversed—the Americans were the tools of Republicans instead of vice versa. It showed that the Union between the two rested on a very slight foundation.

There is evidence that an agreement had been reached by the Republican and American leaders as to the state ticket, but in the convention the straight Republicans were in the ascendent and but one friend of Fillmore was given a place,

³⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 1, 1856.

³¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 8, 1856; *Princeton Democratic Clarion*, May 10, 1856.

³² *Indianapolis Journal*, May 8, 1856; *New Albany Ledger*, May 7, 1856; *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, May 14, 1856.

John W. Dawson, of Allen, the nominee for secretary of state.³³ The remainder of the ticket consisted of Oliver P. Morton, of Wayne, governor; Conrad Baker, of Vanderburg, lieutenant-governor; William R. Noffsinger, of Parke, treasurer; E. W. H. Ellis, of Marion, auditor; John L. Smith, of Boone, superintendent of public instruction; James H. Cravens, of Ripley, attorney-general; John A. Stein, of Tippecanoe, reporter of supreme court; John A. Beal, of Miami, clerk of supreme court.³⁴ James H. Cravens had been vice-president of the Know Nothing order in the state in 1854-55, but was now fully identified with the Republican party. The Americans were thus frozen out. The party, which claimed to include from one-third to one-half of the Fusion strength in the entire state and nine-tenths of it in the southern part, was represented by one candidate among nine. The Americans had come to the convention to fuse, but the Republicans now took the stand that their own principles must be kept supreme.

A plank was inserted in the platform to placate the Americans. It read as follows:

Resolved, That we are in favor of the Naturalization Laws of Congress with the five years probation, and that the right of suffrage should accompany and not precede naturalization.³⁵

A set of district electors was appointed, among whom were James C. Veatch and David Kilgore, of American sympathies. Among the delegates appointed to attend the Republican national convention were Jonathan S. Harvey, of Marion; James N. Ritchey, of Johnson; W. J. Peaslee, of Shelby; George K. Steele, of Parke; Godlove S. Orth, of Tippecanoe; and Charles H. Test, of Wayne; all former members of Know Nothing councils. On the state central committee were placed J. S. Harvey, James Ritchey and George K. Steele.³⁶

The Fusion editors of the state took advantage of the nominating convention to hold another meeting. The proceedings were kept secret, but among the American editors present

³³ *New Albany Ledger*, May 12, 1856.

³⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 8, 1856.

³⁵ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 8, 1856.

³⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 8, 1856.

were R. N. Hudson, of the *Terre Haute Express*; J. Cox, of the *Paoli Constitutionalist*; John W. Dawson, of the *Fort Wayne Times*; W. H. Gregory, of the *Rising Sun Visitor*; and F. J. Waldo, of the *Vevay Reveille*.³⁷

Although they had been rather coldly treated in the convention, the Americans as a whole were determined to support the ticket nominated there.³⁸ With but three or four exceptions the American press fell into line and placed the Fusion ticket in their columns below the names of Fillmore and Donelson. But the twelfth section "South" Americans could not stand by a ticket and platform that was so strongly Republican in color.³⁹ The *Vevay Reveille*, an ultra American paper, repudiated the convention and its platform *in toto*.⁴⁰ It could not support "Black Republican Abolitionism." Sheets was blamed for the failure of the Americans.

The officiating head of the American party in Indiana is rotten to the core! He has sold us to our enemies . . . there is not a single American editor at Indianapolis . . . who was not disgusted at the course pursued at that convention,

wrote the editor, F. J. Waldo.⁴¹ Only on condition that the ticket be divided more equally between the Republicans and Americans would he support a Fusion ticket. Let Judge Jeremiah Sullivan, of Madison, be put in Morton's place, and give the latter the candidacy for attorney-general; give R. N. Hudson, of Terre Haute; T. A. Goodwin, of Brookville, and David Laird, of Perry county, places on the ticket, and then pure Americans could support it.⁴² The *Rising Sun Visitor* said the Fusion ticket could not hope to receive the support of the American party. It favored a separate and independent organization of the American party on its own merits.⁴³ Likewise the *Rockford Herald* hoped that the American party would "cut loose from abolitionism and set up for itself," for Americanism had been entirely repudiated by the conven-

³⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 8, 1856.

³⁸ *Wabash Intelligencer*, May 21, 1856; *New Albany Tribune*, May 14, 1856.

³⁹ *Princeton Democratic Clarion*, May 10, 1856.

⁴⁰ *New Albany Ledger*, May 21, 1856.

⁴¹ *Rockport Democrat*, May 26, 1856, quoting the *Vevay Reveille*; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 19, 1856.

⁴² *New Albany Ledger*, June 13, 1856.

⁴³ *Rockport Democrat*, May 24, 1856; *Madison Courier*, May 21, 1856.

tion.⁴⁴ Also the *Corydon Argus* and the *Paoli Constitutionalist* refused to endorse the convention or put the nominees at the head of their columns because they would not support an "abolition" ticket.⁴⁵ But these were the exceptional instances.

The Americans and Republicans combined their forces for the city elections of April and May, 1856, but met with scant success. The fusion was successful in Crawfordsville and the Know Nothing strongholds, New Albany and Jeffersonville, but in the other cities the Old Line Democracy was uniformly victorious.⁴⁶

The American state convention was called for July 16, 1856. Several of the pure American papers, such as the *Vevay Reveille* and the *Rising Sun Visitor*, agitated for a convention at New Albany on July 4 to nominate a separate state ticket and reorganize the American party.⁴⁷ Their object was to remove the convention from the influence of a People's convention which was to be held at Indianapolis, July 15, to ratify the nomination of Fremont and Dayton. They feared that the radical anti-slavery Fusionists would dominate the American convention to the exclusion of American principles. The *New Albany Tribune* and others who looked more favorably on the Fusionists opposed the idea of a pure American convention and proposed one at Indianapolis the same day that the People's convention met. This faction looked forward not only to the endorsement of the nominees of the convention of May 1, but also to a union electoral ticket. In the end the convention was called to meet at Indianapolis, July 16, the day after the Fusion convention.⁴⁸ It is noteworthy that the American convention now followed the People's instead of preceding it. The Know Nothings of 1854 and 1855 pursued a policy calculated to manipulate the People's movement to their own ends. The Americans of 1856 waited to see what the Fusionists did before they themselves acted. The call was issued by a committee of Americans, mostly from southeastern Indiana, appointed for that purpose, and was signed

⁴⁴ *Rockport Democrat*, May 24, 1856.

⁴⁵ *New Albany Ledger*, May 21, 1856.

⁴⁶ *New Albany Ledger*, April 9, 16, 1856; *Indianapolis Journal*, May 8, 1856; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 9, 1856.

⁴⁷ *New Albany Ledger*, May 28, 1856.

⁴⁸ *New Albany Ledger*, June 21, 1856.

by several hundred voters. It was addressed to Fillmore men and to national Whigs, who were invited to co-operate in the formation of a Fillmore electoral ticket and transact other business.⁴⁹ The Americans over the state proceeded to the nomination of delegates. In some cases, as in Harrison county, delegates were regularly nominated by American mass meetings;⁵⁰ in others, as at Terre Haute, "all who were friends of Fillmore and Donelson" were constituted delegates to the convention.⁵¹

The People's convention, or Republican, as it was frequently styled, met July 15, 1856. Among the delegates were Godlove S. Orth, Judge W. J. Peaslee, George K. Steele, J. C. Moody, and Berry Sulgrove, all formerly active Know Nothings. The convention did little more than make a great demonstration and ratify the nomination of Fremont and Dayton and the state ticket.⁵²

The American convention met at Indianapolis the next day, July 16. The three or four hundred delegates that were present made but a feeble showing in contrast with the thousands that had attended the convention of the previous day.⁵³ The delegations, with the exception of those from New Albany, Jeffersonville, Terre Haute, Vevay, and a few other old Know Nothing strongholds, were not large.⁵⁴ Not more than ten counties from the entire state were represented by delegates properly appointed.⁵⁵ Only about one-fourth of the counties were represented at all. The entire Fifth district was unrepresented, and but one man was present from the Tenth. The delegates formed a procession and marched to the state house, where, in the hall of the house of representatives, the convention organized by calling General W. E. R. Armstrong, of Clark, to the chair, and appointing Squire Robinson, of Rush, to act as secretary.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ *New Albany Tribune*, July 2, 9, 1856; *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, July 9, 1856; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 2, 1856; *Wabash Intelligencer*, July 9, 1856.

⁵⁰ *New Albany Ledger*, July 16, 1856.

⁵¹ *Terre Haute Express*, July 9, 1856.

⁵² *Indianapolis Journal*, July 16, 1856; *Terre Haute Express*, July 21, 1856.

⁵³ *Madison Courier*, July 23, 1856; *Terre Haute Express*, July 21, 1856; *Indianapolis Journal*, July 17, 1856; *Brookville Indiana American*, July 25, 1856.

⁵⁴ *New Albany Ledger*, July 17, 1856; *Indianapolis Journal*, July 17, 1856.

⁵⁵ *Terre Haute Express*, July 21, 1856.

⁵⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 17, 1856.

After the organization a committee, consisting of one member from each congressional district which was represented, was appointed to report on a permanent organization. This committee consisted of John S. Hopkins, Jonathan Paine, R. N. Lamb, Thomas Poe, Henry Bradley, C. H. Bailey, A. W. Peyton, G. W. Blakemore, John H. Young, and Alfred Lyons. To this committee was also referred a resolution instructing them to report a state electoral ticket for Fillmore and Donelson.

A committee on resolutions was appointed, likewise of one member from each congressional district. The members were: James Harlan, George P. R. Wilson, F. J. Waldo, William H. Gregory, C. C. Butler, Richard W. Thompson, M. Bemis, A. L. Osborne and G. S. Rose.⁵⁷

An attempt to prevent the nomination of a separate electoral ticket caused great confusion. John W. Ray, of Jeffersonville, proposed an endorsement of Fremont on grounds of expediency, but such a proposal received little encouragement.

Richard W. Thompson, of Vigo, was elected permanent chairman. A platform was reported, and adopted, which endorsed the nomination of Fillmore; opposed a sectional struggle for the presidency; and condemned the administration for countenancing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the agitation of the slavery question.⁵⁸

A resolution was offered which endorsed the People's state ticket, but it was promptly and enthusiastically voted down. This brought a response from R. N. Hudson, of the *Terre Haute Express*, and Mr. French, of the *Jeffersonville Republican*, who declared that if the convention did not stand by the pledge the Americans, in common with the Republicans, had made to support the People's ticket, they would desert Fillmore and go for Fremont. Their efforts were not successful. Instead of endorsing the People's ticket, the following resolution was passed which did not even recommend that the Americans support the ticket:

Resolved, That this convention having assembled with reference to the election of President and Vice-President of the United States, deem

⁵⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 17, 1856; *New Albany Tribune*, July 23, 1856.

⁵⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 18, 1856.

it inexpedient at this time either to make or recommend any reorganization with reference to State or Congressional elections, having confidence that those who cooperate with us will so vote as to promote the welfare of the State and the Union.⁵⁹

The following electoral ticket was reported: First district, James G. Jones, of Vanderburg; Second district, David H. Laird, of Perry; Third district, John Baker, of Lawrence; Fourth district, William E. White, of Dearborn; Fifth district, Frederick Jobsonbaugh, of Wayne; Sixth district, Henry Bradley, of Johnson; Seventh district, William K. Edwards, of Vigo; Eighth district, C. W. Prather, of Montgomery; Ninth district, Thomas A. Stanfield, of St. Joseph; Tenth district, John B. Howe, of Lagrange; Eleventh district, William R. Hale, of Wabash; for the state at large, George G. Dunn, of Lawrence, and Andrew Osborne, of LaPorte.⁶⁰

The following committee was appointed to prepare an address to the people of Indiana: R. W. Thompson, of Vigo; Major A. H. Davidson, of Marion; W. G. Armstrong, of Clark; Dr. Joseph G. McPheeters, of Monroe; Jonathan Payne, of Orange; James G. Wright, of Jefferson; C. C. Butler, of Marion; John Van Tress, of Daviess; Milton Gregg, of Floyd; and William H. Gregory, of Ohio; after which the convention adjourned.⁶¹

The nomination of a separate electoral ticket, and the failure to endorse the People's candidates resulted in another secession from the American ranks. R. N. Hudson, of the *Terre Haute Express*, carried out the threat made on the floor of the convention by hauling down the Fillmore flag and hoisting that of Fremont and Dayton.⁶² He was followed by Mason, of the *Vincennes Gazette*, and French, of the *Jeffersonville Republican*.⁶³ Three American organs were thus added to the ever increasing list of Republican papers.

The nomination of a separate electoral ticket met with the approval of the pure Americans, but was opposed by a strong

⁵⁹ *Terre Haute Express*, July 21, 1856; *New Albany Ledger*, July 22, October 8, 1856.

⁶⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 17, 18, 1856.

⁶¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 17, 1856.

⁶² *Terre Haute Express*, July 21, 1856.

⁶³ *Madison Courier*, July 30, 1856; *Indianapolis Journal*, August 8, 1856.

faction. It was plainly recognized that alone the Americans could not hope to carry the state, but combined with the Republicans there was a strong probability of success. This faction did not cease to agitate the withdrawal of the separate ticket and the formation of a joint ticket of some sort.⁶⁴

The Americans prepared for the campaign by a systematic reorganization of their councils throughout the state.⁶⁵ Fillmore clubs were formed in New Albany, Madison, Rushville, Washington, Terre Haute, Lafayette, Greencastle, Indianapolis,⁶⁶ and other centers of American sentiment.⁶⁷ It is noteworthy that there is mention of but one such organization north of the National road. Colonel R. W. Thompson, of Terre Haute, was prominent in the attempt to build up and organize the new third party.⁶⁸

The strength of the American party was uncertain, but it was admitted to be much less than it had been in the winter of 1854-55, when a million and a half of voters were enrolled in the Know Nothing councils. It was then freely predicted and often conceded that they held the next presidential election in their hands.⁶⁹ The thirteen electoral votes of Indiana were regarded as certain to be cast for the American candidate.⁷⁰ The series of secessions had weakened them, but still they claimed to number between forty and sixty thousand in the state.⁷¹ This strength was entirely in the southern and western portion of the state. Fremont was absolutely unknown in the "Pocket." The opposition in southern Indiana was practically all American. But even the staunchest Amer-

⁶⁴ Terre Haute *Express*, July 29, August 1, 1856, quoting the Salem *American Citizen*.

⁶⁵ Indianapolis *Journal*, July 7, 1856; Richmond *Jeffersonian*, February 14, 1856.

⁶⁶ The officers of the Indianapolis Fillmore Club were Zalmon P. Tousey, president; Charles Stewart, vice-president, and L. O. Milless, secretary. See the Indianapolis *Journal*, July 15, 1856.

⁶⁷ New Albany *Tribune*, August 6, 13, 20, September 10, October 1, 1856; Indianapolis *Journal*, July 12, 15, 1856.

⁶⁸ Lebanon *Boone County Pioneer*, September 15, 1856; New Albany *Ledger*, July 16, 1856.

⁶⁹ Rushville *Republican*, October 25, 1854.

⁷⁰ Appendix to *Congressional Globe*, 33 Congress, 2 Session, 270.

⁷¹ The latter is an estimate in the Richmond *Jeffersonian*, January 31, 1856. The Indianapolis *Sentinel*, May 7, 1856, copies the former figure from the Cincinnati *Times*, an American paper. The New Albany *Tribune*, March 7, 1856, placed the number at fifty thousand, of whom one thousand five hundred were in Floyd county.

icans admitted that north of the National road Fillmore would receive scarcely a vote.⁷² For at least a year the Know Nothings had been annihilated in that part of the state.

Mention has been made of the desertion of the *Terre Haute Express*, *Vincennes Gazette*, and *Jeffersonville Republican* following the last American convention. A number of other papers that had come out originally for Fillmore followed,⁷³ including the *Fort Wayne Times*, *Greencastle Banner*, *Rockford Herald*, and *Worthington Times*.⁷⁴ The desertion of John W. Dawson, the editor of the *Fort Wayne Times*, was a severe blow to the Americans.⁷⁵ He had been the only Fillmore man on the Fusion ticket. There was nothing left to induce them to support it except a desire to defeat the party in power. About the same time Godlove S. Orth and William Sheets, the two ex-presidents of the order in Indiana, and J. C. Moody, of Floyd, one of its active organizers, became fully identified with the Republican party.⁷⁶ The Fremont campaign continued to win away hundreds of Americans.⁷⁷

There were signs of a rapprochement between the Democratic party and the Americans. The state platform of the former contained a condemnation of all secret political organizations,⁷⁸ which was aimed at the Americans, although that description no longer fitted their organization. But as the campaign progressed the Americans were encouraged in order to draw off support from the Republicans. The Democratic papers now kindly opened their columns for American notices and items. The conservative Americans were cordially invited to join the Democratic ranks where a few months before only the bitterest invective had been employed against them.⁷⁹ American newspapers were said to be supported by Old Line

⁷² *Terre Haute Express*, July 23, 1856, quoting the *New Albany Tribune*.

⁷³ *Indianapolis Journal*, August 8, 29, 1856.

⁷⁴ The following papers supported Fillmore throughout the campaign; *New Albany Tribune*, *Corydon Argus*, *Evansville Journal*, *Paoli Constitutionalist*, *Washington Telegraph*, *Rising Sun Visitor*, *Vevay Reveille*, *Newburg Tribune*, *Terre Haute Union*.

⁷⁵ *New Albany Ledger*, June 25, 1856.

⁷⁶ *New Albany Ledger*, June 27, July 24, 1856; Appendix to *Congressional Globe*, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 1153.

⁷⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, September 29, 1856.

⁷⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, January 9, 1856.

⁷⁹ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 30, July 2, 1856; *Indianapolis Journal*, October 6, 1856.

financial aid.⁸⁰ The speeches of Richard W. Thompson, who stumped the state for Fillmore, denouncing the Republicans as "Abolitionists, disunionists and incendiaries," were so Old Line in character that they gave rise to the belief that he was a stipendiary of the Democrats.⁸¹

The advances of the Democracy did not shake the determination of the "North" Americans to support the People's state ticket. The fact that Willard, the Democratic candidate for governor, had denounced the Know Nothings as illiberal and proscriptive, was not forgotten by the New Albany *Tribune*, which called upon the Fillmore men to vote for Morton.⁸² The Fillmore club of the same city passed resolutions to support the state, congressional and county candidates of the People's party at the October election.⁸³ The Fusion managers were somewhat careful in their efforts to keep them loyal. Anti-slavery speakers were kept out of the districts that were strongly "South" American.⁸⁴

The few Old Line Whigs who still remained, unattached to any other party, occupied a political position almost identical with that of the American party on the slavery question. It was not surprising then, that in their national convention at Baltimore, September 18, 1856, the nominations of Fillmore and Donelson were endorsed. W. K. Edwards, of Terre Haute, an elector on the American ticket, was one of the Indiana delegates to the convention and there voted for Fillmore.⁸⁵ Although on the Fillmore electoral ticket he was there as an old Whig and nothing else, as he never had been a Know Nothing.

⁸⁰ Indianapolis *Journal*, October 28, 1856; Franklin *Republican*, April 3, 1857.

⁸¹ Julian, *Recollections*, 155. Indianapolis *Journal*, October 1, 2, 1856. The belief still exists among old Republicans that "Dick" Thompson was paid by the Democrats to keep the American ticket in the field, and to him was due the defeat of the Republicans in Indiana in 1856. No proof was ever advanced. Soon after the election he received the sum of \$40,000 from the government for legal services rendered to the Indians. This probably caused the story to be so widely believed. See also the New Albany *Ledger*, September 13, 1858.

⁸² New Albany *Ledger*, October 8, 1856.

⁸³ Indianapolis *Journal*, August 16, 1856.

⁸⁴ Julian, *Speeches*, 134.

⁸⁵ Indianapolis *Journal*, September 20, 1856; Terre Haute *Express*, September 22, 1856.

While the Democrats were well pleased at the prospect of a divided opposition, the Republicans were making every effort to discourage the support of a third ticket. With such Americans as Milton Gregg, of the *New Albany Tribune*, they might meet with some success, but most of the Americans were determined to support Fillmore. The Fillmore club at Indianapolis passed resolutions not to coalesce with either of the old parties.⁸⁶ Likewise the club at Terre Haute resolved that they would "neither desire, seek, claim or court any alliance with the Democrat or Republican parties . . . that we are for Millard Fillmore unto the end."⁸⁷ Veatch, the Fusion nominee for congress in the First district, was not acceptable to all the Fillmore men because of his support of Fremont. A Fillmore mass meeting at West Franklin, Posey county, resolved not to support any candidate (i. e., Veatch) who did not adhere to Fillmore and Donelson.⁸⁸ There would be no supporters of Fremont or a fusion electoral ticket among these Americans. The matter was finally set at rest by the American state central committee, which met at Indianapolis, September 24, and issued the following statement:

That the statement made by some papers that the Americans will support the Republican electoral ticket is untrue; on the contrary they have their own ticket composed of Fillmore men and intend to support it, without union or fusion with any other party.

A. H. DAVIDSON, Chairman.⁸⁹

The Americans conducted a vigorous campaign in southern Indiana, but abandoned the northern portion to the Democrats and Republicans. Fillmore rallies, barbecues, and mass meetings were numerous and well attended in the counties along the Ohio and the Wabash.⁹⁰ R. W. Thompson bore the burden of the speaking campaign, and American orators from Kentucky assisted. One of the latter, Judge Yeaman, of Owensborough, at a barbecue at Enterprise, Spencer county, advo-

⁸⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 25, 1856.

⁸⁷ *Terre Haute Express*, July 30, 1856; *New Albany Ledger*, August 2, 1856.

⁸⁸ *New Albany Ledger*, August 6, 1856.

⁸⁹ *New Albany Tribune*, September 17, 1856; *Indianapolis Journal*, September 29, 1856.

⁹⁰ *New Albany Tribune*, August 13, October 1, 15, 1856; *New Albany Ledger*, July 16, 1856; *Terre Haute Wabash Courier*, July 12, 1856.

cated a period of probation of forty-two years for foreigners in the United States.⁹¹ The Americans of Indianapolis sent a delegation to attend a great mass meeting at Cincinnati, but its small size aroused only the derision of the other parties.⁹² There was one riot between Democrats and Americans, at Henryville, Clark county, and two of the latter were killed.⁹³ Other disorders occurred in New Albany, where the Republicans charged the Americans of using violence to break up Fremont meetings.⁹⁴

The state election was held October 14, 1856. The contest was very close and not until the last returns were in was it known who was elected, but Willard received a plurality of 5,842 votes over Morton and carried the entire ticket with him.⁹⁵ John M. Dawson, the People's candidate for secretary of state, ran somewhat behind the rest of his ticket, which was taken to indicate that the Americans had scratched him in return for his desertion of their cause.⁹⁶ The Americans would be represented in the next state legislature by two representatives, John W. Wright and John J. Hayden, elected from Ohio and Switzerland counties, and by two hold-over senators, P. S. Sage, from the same counties, and David Crane, of Floyd.⁹⁷

The Fusionists secured control of the house, but the senate was Democratic. In Vigo county each party had brought out a candidate for representative and the result displayed the weakness of the Americans in that county, which was supposed to be a hot-bed of Americanism. The vote stood: Democrat, 1,796; Republican, 1,435; American, 547.⁹⁸ The "South" Americans of Vigo would not fuse on their candidate, as had been done in most of the other counties.

The Republicans were bitterly disappointed at the result and sought to lay the responsibility for the defeat upon the Americans, whom they accused of double-crossing. Governor-

⁹¹ Rockport *Democrat*, October 4, 1856.

⁹² Indianapolis *Journal*, August 28, 1856.

⁹³ Indianapolis *Journal*, September 12, 1856.

⁹⁴ Indianapolis *Journal*, December 27, 1856.

⁹⁵ For the official vote see the Indianapolis *Journal*, December 3, 1856.

⁹⁶ Indianapolis *Journal*, October 18, 1856.

⁹⁷ Indianapolis *Journal*, November 8, 1856.

⁹⁸ Terre Haute *Express*, October 25, 1856.

elect Willard, in a speech soon after his victory, remarked that the Know Nothings had voted for him because they did not wish to add abolitionism to Know Nothingism.⁹⁹ This gave color to the charge that nine out of ten Fillmore men had deserted Morton.¹⁰⁰ Every county in the state in which there was a large American element had gone heavily against Morton. The counties along the Ohio, in the "pocket" and on the Wabash had given Willard majorities.¹⁰¹ It was reported that Fillmore men had everywhere voted openly for Willard; that the Americans of Knox and Vigo counties had gone in a body into the Democratic ranks. In Decatur county a council of the entire party was said to have been called upon the eve of the election and there it was decided to cast their vote solidly for the Old Liners.¹⁰² Such were the charges made by the Republicans over the entire state against their allies. They found one grain of consolation however. If the Americans had gone in a body for Willard, that vote would be drawn off for their own candidate in the November election, and Fremont, if such were the case, would be certain of carrying Indiana.¹⁰³ Therein may lie the explanation of the charges. The Republicans made great political capital out of them for the next month and on them based their hope of success.

The Americans of course were indignant. They claimed to have kept their promises and to have supported the ticket in spite of the treatment received at the last Fusion convention. At any rate, a comparison of the vote with that in the coming November election would show where the American vote had gone.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ *Indianapolis Journal*, October 17, 1856.

¹⁰⁰ *Brookville Indiana American*, October 24, 1856.

¹⁰¹ *Indianapolis Journal*, October 18, 20, 21, 1856.

⁹ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 3, 1856; *Rockport Democrat*, March 8, 1856.

¹⁰³ *Indianapolis Journal*, October 28, 1856.

¹⁰⁴ The following story appeared in the *Lafayette Courier* and was copied by the *Indianapolis Journal*, October 30, 1856. It is interesting, but there is no other evidence as to its truth.

The terms of a Democratic and Know Nothing coalition were claimed to have been learned by a Republican, who gained access to an American council. The Americans had made a proposition to the Republicans, it was said, to vote the Republican ticket in October, provided that "Dick" Thompson would be elected United States senator, but the Republicans refused. The proposition was then made to the Old Liners and accepted. The Americans then voted the Democratic ticket in October, but the combination failed to secure control of the state senate.

This soreness put an end, at least for the time being, to the alliance that had begun between the Know Nothings and the anti-Nebraska men in 1854. With the single exception of a Republican and American meeting in Vevay, Switzerland county, not a proposal was to be heard for a fusion electoral ticket.¹⁰⁵ The Republican cry now was that the day for fusion had passed, the pandering to the Fillmore element was over.¹⁰⁶ There must be no more affiliation with Fillmoreism. It had retarded—not helped—the growth of Republicanism in the southern half of the state.¹⁰⁷ The “treacherous” Know Nothings were supposed to be determined to defeat Fremont if they had to elect Buchanan to do so.¹⁰⁸

Three of the Fillmore electors followed Orth and Sheets in their desertion of the American party and announced their intention of supporting Fremont and Dayton. They were Andrew Osborne, elector-at-large; Thomas A. Stanfield, in the Ninth district, and John B. Howe, in the Tenth. The American attitude on the slavery question was given as the reason for their action.¹⁰⁹ Their places were taken by Richard W. Thompson, George W. Blakemore, and J. McNutt Smith, respectively.¹¹⁰

The Americans realized that their candidate could not hope to carry the election, but they did believe that Fillmore would carry enough states to prevent either Buchanan or Fremont from securing a majority in the electoral college. The Demo-

Again the Americans proposed to J. D. Defrees, chairman of the Republican state central committee, to form a fusion electoral ticket, on which there were to be three or four Americans. Defrees refused, whereupon the same plan was laid before the Democrats and accepted.

Such a story might appear plausible at the time, but no such Democratic-American fusion ticket appeared, and it will be shown that the Americans, as a whole, did support the People's ticket in October, 1856.

¹⁰⁵ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, October 22, 1856; *Madison Courier*, October 29, 1856.

¹⁰⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, October 25, 1856, from the *Terre Haute Express*.

¹⁰⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, October 28, 29, 1856.

¹⁰⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, October 30, 1856.

¹⁰⁹ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 31, 1856; *Terre Haute Express*, August 4, 1856.

¹¹⁰ *New Albany Ledger*, Nov. 1, 1856. The Fillmore electors in the Fourth and Eighth districts, Colonel William E. White and C. W. Prather, were doubtful in their support of the American candidate. The former was said to favor Buchanan, the latter, Fremont. But their names remained on the electoral ticket. See the *Rockport Democrat*, August 2, 1856, and the *Terre Haute Express*, August 14, 1856.

crats were expected to carry most of the southern states, the Republicans the north, and the Americans the border states. If those circumstances came to pass the election would be thrown into the house of representatives. It was regarded as certain that neither Fremont nor Buchanan, as sectional candidates, could command the support of the house. Fillmore then would be the logical compromise candidate whom both sections could support.¹¹¹

An attempt, based upon such calculations, was made to withdraw the Fillmore ticket in Indiana. On October 29, J. R. Thompson, a Fillmore man of New York, brought letters from Mr. Jewett, of the New York state council, and from the president of the American national council to Colonel R. W. Thompson of Terre Haute. He called on Major A. H. Davidson, of the Indiana state central committee, and presented the letters. It was the desire of Fillmore and the New York Americans to give Indiana to Fremont, which would increase Fillmore's chances of throwing the election into the house of representatives. Major Davidson said it could be done by the concurrence of the American state central committee, and advised Mr. Thompson to see Colonel R. W. Thompson on the subject. He did so, but the latter declined to withdraw the ticket on the ground that it was too late to do so and swing the Fillmore vote to Fremont.¹¹² Rumors spread that the ticket had been withdrawn. The state central committee met November 3, and issued a statement, signed by A. H. Davidson, William G. Armstrong, and Milton Gregg, which denied the rumors to that effect, or that there had been any fusion with either of the other parties, and called on the Americans to stand firm in support of their candidate.¹¹³

A few days previous to the presidential election the American state central committee issued a circular, signed by A. H. Davidson, William G. Armstrong, Milton Gregg, C. C. Butler, J. W. Stratton, and G. W. Blakemore, which defined for the

¹¹¹ Brookville *Indiana American*, August 8, 1856; New Albany *Tribune*, October 22, 1856.

¹¹² Terre Haute *Express*, November 4, 1856; Indianapolis *Journal*, November 6, 1856; Madison *Courier*, November 12, 1856.

¹¹³ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, November 4, 1856.

voters of Indiana the American position on the slavery question. On the repeal of the Missouri Compromise it stated:

The men in Indiana, who support the election of Fillmore and Donelson, regard the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the party now in power, as unwise and deserving the condemnation of the American people. It was a measure adopted for party purposes, unjust in its conception, and fraught with imminent danger to the integrity of the union. It has produced discord, sectional strife, and internal war, and the extent of evil consequent upon its repeal is impossible now to determine.

The address proceeded to urge the freemen of Indiana to vote for Fillmore in preference to Fremont because:

Should Mr. Fillmore be president, the probability for a restoration of the Compromise, or an equivalent measure, would be far more likely to take place, because a recommendation from him would have weight, and receive consideration from members of Congress representing all portions of the Union.

The position was made still stronger by the following declaration:

We are opposed to the extension of the Missouri Compromise line. We are opposed to any interference with the existing institutions of our sister State.¹¹⁴

The position assumed by the central committee in this statement was almost identical with that of the Republicans. It represented the attitude of Milton Gregg and others of his stamp on the committee, but it certainly did not reflect the opinions of the South Americans of the "Pocket." The purpose of the circular is not stated, but the time of its appearance and its character would suggest that it was intended for the consumption of the voters of central Indiana and was designed to stop the secession to the ranks of the Republicans that was constant there.

As the election drew near it was seen that, while the struggle between Buchanan and Fremont would probably be close, Fillmore would run a poor third in the state. Practically all the straw votes taken forecast the result. The election came

¹¹⁴ *Indianapolis Journal*, December 15, 1856.

on November 4. The Americans of New Albany were charged with a trick commonly practiced in that day. They printed a peculiarly spotted ballot in order to detect any American who did not vote for Fillmore.¹¹⁵

The votes for Fillmore amounted to 22,386 out of an aggregate vote of 235,434. Following is the official vote by counties for the leading elector on each ticket.¹¹⁶ The result of the October state election is given also,¹¹⁷ so that by a comparison of the vote it may be shown whether or not the Americans supported the People's ticket in 1856.

VOTE OF 1856

County	Willard	Morton	Buchanan	Fremont	Fillmore
Adams -----	763	372	847	413	69
Allen -----	3,029	1,711	3,211	1,593	145
Bartholomew ---	1,855	1,410	1,844	1,292	142
Benton -----	223	313	217	315	8
Blackford -----	404	267	404	238	47
Boone -----	1,495	1,349	1,493	1,299	81
Brown -----	773	220	681	148	90
Carroll -----	1,311	1,270	1,344	1,261	22
Cass -----	1,550	1,503	1,539	1,504	40
Clark -----	1,799	1,485	1,950	492	1,074
Clay -----	1,057	607	1,108	365	296
Clinton -----	1,332	1,279	1,364	1,261	34
Crawford -----	745	596	735	24	509
Daviess -----	1,137	912	1,115	26	939
Dearborn -----	2,636	1,867	2,619	1,573	297
Decatur -----	1,667	1,800	1,639	1,718	61
DeKalb -----	1,191	1,111	1,247	1,097	75
Delaware -----	965	1,587	992	1,736	32
Dubois -----	1,024	226	1,191	21	236
Elkhart -----	1,494	1,809	1,651	1,971	18
Fayette -----	1,001	1,211	1,002	1,189	40
Floyd -----	1,833	1,481	1,767	228	1,262
Fountain -----	1,623	1,669	1,588	1,606	36
Franklin -----	2,241	1,479	2,259	1,437	41
Fulton -----	849	798	835	822	9
Gibson -----	1,218	1,047	1,286	365	766
Grant -----	1,050	1,404	1,035	1,395	99

¹¹⁵ Indianapolis *Journal*, December 17, 1856.

¹¹⁶ Indianapolis *Journal*, November 26, 1856.

¹¹⁷ Indianapolis *Journal*, December 3, 1856.

County	Willard	Morton	Buchanan	Fremont	Fillmore
Greene -----	1,232	1,051	1,129	379	533
Hamilton -----	1,123	1,710	1,185	1,748	38
Hancock -----	1,325	1,074	1,343	962	24
Harrison -----	1,642	1,432	1,681	773	623
Hendricks -----	1,410	1,606	1,378	1,680	74
Henry -----	1,188	2,489	1,229	2,741	49
Howard -----	693	1,019	686	1,057	33
Huntington -----	1,211	1,199	1,181	1,232	58
Jackson -----	1,565	694	1,700	299	516
Jasper -----	536	652	548	633	63
Jay -----	867	884	880	883	54
Jefferson -----	1,994	2,476	1,936	2,314	425
Jennings -----	1,126	1,391	1,159	1,293	172
Johnson -----	1,660	1,204	1,608	1,095	153
Knox -----	1,544	1,109	1,512	557	535
Kosciusko -----	1,029	1,566	1,075	1,662	13
Lagrange -----	633	1,302	640	1,406	6
Lake -----	292	893	346	923	3
Laporte -----	2,222	2,332	2,239	2,533	45
Lawrence -----	1,079	1,061	1,126	480	660
Madison -----	1,578	1,321	1,603	1,309	84
Marion -----	3,642	3,737	3,738	3,696	205
Marshall -----	1,044	932	1,039	927	-----
Martin -----	777	466	769	76	350
Miami -----	1,532	1,435	1,513	1,390	38
Monroe -----	1,133	801	1,191	498	392
Montgomery ---	2,109	2,037	2,088	1,910	142
Morgan -----	1,644	1,652	1,528	1,573	68
Noble -----	1,249	1,257	1,198	1,257	48
Ohio -----	505	465	505	104	379
Orange -----	1,116	614	1,207	49	606
Owen -----	1,223	1,066	1,239	487	586
Parke -----	1,331	1,682	1,283	1,494	192
Perry -----	1,047	742	1,066	96	632
Pike -----	802	608	772	80	574
Porter -----	704	997	614	847	10
Posey -----	1,750	833	1,819	306	625
Pulaski -----	577	356	557	341	27
Putnam -----	1,937	1,766	1,882	1,345	423
Randolph -----	1,233	1,901	1,253	2,042	59
Ripley -----	1,721	1,579	1,661	1,425	184
Rush -----	1,707	1,827	1,685	1,644	83
Scott -----	710	557	693	278	264
Shelby -----	2,053	1,604	2,075	1,510	142
Spencer -----	1,295	1,083	1,260	235	808

County	Willard	Morton	Buchanan	Fremont	Fillmore
Starke -----	177	132	155	112	7
Steuben -----	546	1,133	553	1,215	19
St. Joseph -----	1,460	1,789	1,509	1,812	6
Sullivan -----	1,618	639	1,650	257	397
Switzerland ----	1,133	1,127	1,121	228	1,040
Tippecanoe ----	2,335	2,659	2,307	2,778	45
Tipton -----	687	558	738	546	14
Union -----	741	773	710	763	19
Vanderburg ----	1,747	1,167	1,880	372	840
Vermillion ----	837	943	824	866	80
Vigo -----	1,901	1,811	1,808	1,165	883
Wabash -----	1,168	1,725	1,096	1,785	108
Warren -----	790	1,136	767	1,167	76
Warrick -----	1,409	554	1,506	107	480
Washington ----	1,643	1,021	1,778	331	691
Wayne -----	1,994	3,371	1,958	3,688	100
Wells -----	890	733	931	726	16
White -----	762	744	746	703	42
Whitely -----	858	783	851	797	57
Total -----	117,981	112,139	118,672	94,376	22,386

The Americans supported the Republican nominees for congress and the Fusion carried five out of the eleven districts.¹¹⁸

The results of the election disproved the assertion that the Americans had not supported Morton in October. Buchanan received but 691 votes more than Willard. Morton received 17,763 votes more than Fremont. The Fillmore vote of 22,386 had evidently been subtracted from the strength of Morton, not of Willard. In twenty counties of southern Indiana¹¹⁹ the Willard and Buchanan strength remained practically the same, 25,761 and 26,528. Morton received 18,536 votes in the same counties, which was approximately the sum of the number polled by Fillmore, 13,229, and Fremont, 6,038. A study of the figures in some counties gives even more interesting results. In Daviess county Fremont polled but 26 votes; the 912 of Morton must have come from the 939 received by

¹¹⁸ Indianapolis *Journal*, November 6, 1856.

¹¹⁹ Floyd, Clark, Harrison, Washington, Crawford, Scott, Orange, Ohio, Switzerland, Vanderburgh, Knox, Daviess, Posey, Gibson, Warrick, Owen, Sullivan, Lawrence Monroe and Martin.

Fillmore. In Ohio county Morton had received 465 votes; Fillmore received 370, and Fremont 104, while Buchanan and Willard polled the same number, 505. A study of the figures in Clark, Floyd, Gibson, Harrison, Spencer, Orange, or any county where there was an appreciable American element, leads to but one conclusion, namely, the supporters of Morton were those of Fremont plus those of Fillmore.

It is a question whether or not the presence of the American ticket in the campaign led to the loss of the state for Fremont. The *Louisville Journal*, a South American organ, claimed that the Fillmore party performed a service by defeating a sectional party in the state. Many supporters of Fillmore in Indiana believed the same thing.¹²⁰ From the radical wing of the Republicans came the statement that if they had not shown so much deference to Know Nothingism and had made a bold fight in southern Indiana instead of abandoning it to Fillmore, the state would have been saved for Fremont.¹²¹ But Buchanan received a majority over both candidates of 1,910. The question arises also that even if the American ticket had been withdrawn according to the scheme referred to above, would the pure Americans of the river counties and the "Pocket" have voted for the "abolitionist," Fremont? It is not probable.

The *New Albany Tribune* and the moderate Americans generally laid the responsibility for the loss of the second great battle of the People upon the ultra fanaticism of the *Indianapolis Journal* and other papers that bore the stamp of sectionalism.¹²²

The American party as a factor in national politics ended with this campaign, its first and last. Fillmore received a large vote, but carried the single state of Maryland with its eight electoral votes. For some time it remained a factor in Indiana state politics, but with ever decreasing importance. American sentiment lingered in the southern portion of the state until, in the face of the question of union or disunion, it disappeared.

¹²⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, November 10, 1856.

¹²¹ Julian, *Speeches*, 134.

¹²² *Indianapolis Journal*, November 14, 1856.

DECLINE OF THE AMERICAN PARTY

There remains the task of tracing the fortunes of the remnant of the American party which still persisted in southern Indiana, nominally at least a factor in local politics. It was recognized that their importance as a power in politics was gone, and evidence of the fact was not lacking.

The American Union club, as the Fillmore club of Indianapolis was called, announced that it would support Thomas E. Holbrook for mayor, and John D. Perrine for clerk, at the city election, which was to be held November 22, 1856. The former declined to run, but Perrine received 73 votes.¹ In practically the same territory Fillmore had received 152 votes, which showed a falling off of over half from his strength.² The Americans supported the Republican candidate for mayor, who was successful. This was the only time the Americans ever contested a city election in Indianapolis.

The Americans in the state legislature acted and voted generally with the Republicans, but in some instances with the Democrats.³ Although but few in number, their support was essential to the Republicans. This was especially true in the Senate, where the Americans and the Anti-Lecompton Democrats held the balance of power. In the election of United States senators the Fillmore men in the house cast two votes for George G. Dunn and Richard W. Thompson. In the senate the Americans acted with the Republicans by refusing to go into a joint session. The result was the election of two Democratic senators, Graham N. Fitch and Jesse D. Bright, although there was no quorum present.⁴

The American newspapers began an agitation for a state convention in order to determine the course they should pursue in regard to state and national policy.⁵ In response to the demand the state central committee issued a call for a con-

¹ Indianapolis *Journal*, November 17, 20, 25, 26, 1856.

² Indianapolis *Journal*, November 10, 1856.

³ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, April 21, 1857; Terre Haute *Union*, April 25, 1857.

⁴ Indianapolis *Journal*, January 7, February 5, 6, 1857.

⁵ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, January 28, 1857; New Albany *Tribune*, January 28, 1857.

vention to be held at Indianapolis February 17, 1857.⁶ In some instances, as at Terre Haute, delegates were appointed by American mass meetings, but generally no primary was necessary. Every member choosing to go was recognized as a delegate.⁷

A scanty handful of delegates answered the call and appeared in the supreme court room on the day designated. An organization was there effected and a committee on resolutions appointed, consisting of R. W. Thompson, Milton Gregg, P. S. Sage, Zalmon Tousey, and Lewis Holmes, after which the convention adjourned to the hall of the house of representatives.⁸ There Colonel William E. White, of Aurora, was appointed president, with William H. Gregory, of the *Rising Sun Visitor*, and F. Y. Carlisle, of the *Evansville Journal*, secretaries.⁹ After addresses by R. W. Thompson and Milton Gregg, a series of resolutions was reported by the committee. This platform declared for the preservation of the Union; opposed all interference with the institutions of the states, but at the same time opposed the further extension of slavery; favored internal improvements and a protective tariff; would limit suffrage and office-holding to citizens; and opposed foreign influence, religious or political, with the affairs of this government.¹⁰ After the adoption of this platform the body adjourned. This convention represented the last effort at united action by the Americans in Indiana. It accomplished nothing, but displayed their weakness. It excited little interest and but few mass meetings were held to ratify its work.¹¹

The national council assembled at Louisville, June 2, 1857. The executive committee of the Indiana state council had met at Indianapolis in May and appointed a number of delegates,

* *Indianapolis Journal*, January 31, 1857; *Brookville Indiana American*, January 30, 1857.

⁷ *Terre Haute Union*, February 3, 1857; *New Albany Tribune*, February 25, 1857.

⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, February 18, 1857; *New Albany Ledger*, February 25, 1857; *Wabash Intelligencer*, February 25, 1857; *Brookville Indiana American*, February 27, 1857.

⁹ *New Albany Tribune*, February 25, 1857; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 18, 1857.

¹⁰ *Indianapolis Journal*, February 18, 1857; *Terre Haute Union*, February 19, 1857.

¹¹ *New Albany Tribune*, March 31, 1857.

perhaps two from each congressional district.¹² How many of those attended is uncertain, as mention is made of R. W. Thompson only. He, however, played a very prominent part in the convention as one of the principal speakers and a member of the committee on resolutions.¹³ The usefulness of the national council had ended with the defeat of Fillmore, so the members now decided to adjourn it forever. A new plan of organization was adopted in which there was no provision for a grand council. The party in each state and territory was left to organize as it saw fit. The national officers were elected for the ensuing year and a national central committee of thirteen was provided for, with power to reconvene the council if the need for it arose.¹⁴ On June 3 the council adjourned, and as it never met again, its career came to an end, after a life of but three years.

With the national and state organizations defunct the American party was, as the *New Albany Tribune* said, "dead if not damned." It was regarded as a thing of the past. Some of its chief organs, as the *Vevay Reveille*, dropped politics and concluded to be neutral.¹⁵ The election of 1857, in which Kentucky and Tennessee were both lost, demonstrated that their political power was gone. With the exception of a few city officers in New Albany and Jeffersonville, the Americans won no successes in the city elections of 1857. Even in the former place, the center of Know Nothingism in the state, some of their candidates were defeated.¹⁶

The Americans felt themselves helpless. Fortunately there would be no important election until the next year, 1858, so there was no motive for immediate action. The best policy, as they felt, was to remain quiet, watch the movements of parties and strike at the first favorable opportunity.¹⁷ In some quarters a union with the Republicans was favorably considered. Certainly neither party would relinquish its

¹² *Terre Haute Union*, May 30, 1857; *New Albany Tribune*, June 1, 1857.

¹³ *Indianapolis Journal*, June 4, 6, 1857; *Terre Haute Union*, June 4, 7-8, 1857.

¹⁴ *New Albany Tribune*, June 4-5, 1857; *Terre Haute Union*, June 8-9, 1857.

¹⁵ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 29, 1857.

¹⁶ *New Albany Tribune*, May 8, 1857, June 26, 1858.

¹⁷ *New Albany Tribune*, May 6, 1857.

cherished principles for the sake of a coalition, but the platform of the old Whig party was put forward by Milton Gregg as a common ground upon which all might unite.¹⁸ But however favorable the more liberal Americans might be toward a union, those of Vigo were not disposed to any fusion, but believed in sticking to straight American principles. At a meeting at Terre Haute in May, 1857, resolutions were adopted not to affiliate with any party, to make no nominations, to leave each American voter to act as he saw fit; and, in Vigo, the party would resume action in a national or state canvass.¹⁹ Likewise the American party in Lafayette refused to affiliate with the Republicans.²⁰

Non-attention to the slavery question was made the leading issue of Americanism.²¹ They purposed to establish a party having a higher mission than to excite hatred between north and south. Slavery, where it existed, or in the District of Columbia, or the interstate slave trade, did not concern the free states. The policy of the Americans was to take the question out of congress and out of political contests; to let it alone entirely. To uphold those principles the party would refuse to unite with any sectional party. Such was their stand as expressed by R. W. Thompson.²² The *Terre Haute Union*, now the chief organ of the straight Americans, lamented the fact that so many had fallen away from those principles. The third degree had been adopted to get rid of the slavery question, and many had bound themselves by the oath to let it alone. "Some have remained true to the pledge. Where are the remainder? Echo answers—where?"²³ Upon the question of the right of congress to legislate upon the slavery question the Americans disagreed. The *New Albany Tribune* opposed the stand of the Vigo Americans and held that it had constitutional right to do so.²⁴

The Republicans were divided upon the question of conciliating the Americans. The feeling of the majority was

¹⁸ *New Albany Tribune*, November 16, 1857.

¹⁹ *Madison Courier*, April 22, 1857; *Terre Haute Union*, May 2, 1857.

²⁰ *Terre Haute Union*, May 5, 1857.

²¹ *Terre Haute Union*, August 19, September 2, October 3, 6, 23, 1857.

²² *Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 29, 1858.

²³ *Terre Haute Union*, October 3, 1857.

²⁴ *New Albany Tribune*, April 6, 1858.

that they had conceded too much in the past. Accusations were still made that the Americans had double-crossed them in the election of 1856 and were still in active alliance with the Democrats.²⁵ The Fillmore men were said to show even less feeling than many Democrats against the Lecompton swindle.²⁶ A majority of the Republican papers called for a straight out Republican convention to nominate candidates for the state campaign of 1858. Very few proposed another fusion convention.²⁷

The Republican convention was held at Indianapolis, March 4, 1858. No tenders were made to the Americans to attend, and while the convention was full of former Know Nothings, they were present as full-fledged Republicans.²⁸

Not a single concession on the ticket was made to the Americans, although a fair ratio would have given them one or probably two of the nine candidates, and no plank was incorporated in the platform that hinted of Americanism.²⁹ Quite unlike the convention of 1854, naturalized Germans took prominent parts and a German and an Englishman were placed upon the ticket. It was evidently more profitable to bid for the foreign than the nativist vote.

Although the Americans had received little or no consideration from the convention, the New Albany *Tribune* believed that the principles avowed could be supported by them. Milton Gregg decided to work for the election of the ticket and called upon the Americans to do so. But their support should be given as individuals; as a party they should not commit themselves.³⁰ The party virtually took this position in the campaign.

A few local elections were held in the spring of 1858. The Americans won partial victories in New Albany, Terre Haute, and other towns of southern Indiana, but the trend even there showed they were still losing strength.³¹

²⁵ Indianapolis *Journal*, May 5, 1857; Franklin *Republican*, April 3, 1857.

²⁶ Indianapolis *Journal*, February 9, 1858.

²⁷ Madison *Courier*, April 22, 1857.

²⁸ New Albany *Ledger*, September 15, 1858; Indianapolis *Journal*, March 5, 1858.

²⁹ New Albany *Ledger*, March 24, 1858.

³⁰ New Albany *Tribune*, April 6, 1858.

³¹ New Albany *Ledger*, April 14, 1858; Indianapolis *Journal*, May 7-8, 1858; Indianapolis *Sentinel*, May 6-7, 1856.

Know Nothingism had fallen into disrepute in central and northern Indiana by 1858. The term became one of opprobrium and to prove that a candidate was a "Know Nothing of 1854" would hurt his chances for election.³²

The Know Nothings in 1858 were looked upon with somewhat the same disfavor as were the Harford convention Federalists in 1830.

The American party of Terre Haute held a meeting March 29, 1858, to determine which of the two state tickets they should support.³³ Under the influence of R. W. Thompson and William K. Edwards they took a conservative, national stand and did not commit themselves to the support of either state ticket. An American state convention to be held at Indianapolis, July 2, was suggested, but as there was little enthusiasm in the American cause no notice was taken of the proposal.

In other parts of the state the desire to defeat the Lecompton Democrats made the Americans more favorable toward fusion. In Ohio, Switzerland, Spencer, and other counties they united with the Republicans upon their candidates.³⁴ In other counties, such as Clay and Lawrence, the opposition put both Americans and Republicans upon a joint ticket.

Further testimony of the more liberal spirit pervading Americanism is furnished by the fact that the Seymour *Times* recommended the support of the opposition state ticket, even though there were some citizens of foreign birth or descent upon it.³⁵

In the same spirit the New Albany *Tribune* hoped that no American would scratch Judge Otto merely because he was of German blood.³⁶

The Democrats who had joined the Know Nothing councils in 1854 had generally gone back to their own party. W. M. Ray, the Lecompton candidate for congress in the Sixth district, had been a Know Nothing.³⁷

³² Indianapolis *Journal*, April 1, 13, 23, 28, May 1, 5, 8, 1858.

³³ New Albany *Ledger*, March 31, April 7, 1858; New Albany *Tribune*, April 6, 14, 1858.

³⁴ Indianapolis *Journal*, July 30, September 15, 1858; New Albany *Ledger*, July 28, 1858; Madison *Courier*, September 17, 1858.

³⁵ Indianapolis *Journal*, October 9, 1858.

³⁶ New Albany *Tribune*, October 12, 1858.

³⁷ Indianapolis *Journal*, August 23, 1858.

The combined efforts of the Republicans, Americans, and anti-Lecompton Democrats succeeded in electing eight out of eleven congressmen, but the state ticket was defeated.³⁸ The combination elected one American state senator, Benjamin Robinson, of Ohio and Switzerland, and at least six Americans to the house, namely, William K. Edwards and John P. Baird, of Vigo; James E. Blythe, of Vanderburg; R. Boyd, of Lawrence; William H. Gregory, of Ohio and Switzerland, and Smith Jones, of Bartholomew.³⁹ Some local victories were won by the Americans in Lawrence county and elsewhere, but as a separate party they usually ran third.⁴⁰

A study of the vote in those counties where the Americans were strong shows that they had voted almost unanimously for the opposition ticket.⁴¹ The success of the Republicans and Americans brought out pleas for a closer union from the New Albany *Tribune*. Now that the platform of the two parties was almost the same, there was no necessity for their remaining apart. The lesson of the election should not be lost.⁴²

The Americans and Republicans in the legislature could do little, as they were in the minority. William H. Gregory, American-Republican from Ohio county, introduced a bill contemplating an amendment to the state constitution that would limit the right of suffrage to those who are citizens of the United States either by birth or naturalization. Such a bill

³⁸ New Albany *Tribune*, October 15-16, 1858.

³⁹ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, October 19, 27, 1858; January 7, 1859; Madison Courier, December 27, 1858.

⁴⁰ The falling off of the American vote is shown by the vote in Spencer county, where Fillmore had polled 808 votes. In 1858 the vote on county treasurer stood: Lecompton, 986; Anti-Lecompton, 882; American, 216. For sheriff: Lecompton, 814; Anti-Lecompton, 770; American, 426; Republican, 86. From the Rockport *Democrat*, February 4, 1860.

⁴¹ For example the vote of the following counties taken at random from among those where the Americans were numerous, shows that the vote for Peele, the Opposition candidate for secretary of state, is the sum of the vote for Fremont in 1856, plus that for Fillmore.

County	Fremont	Fillmore	Peele
Floyd -----	228	1262	1534
Harrison -----	773	623	1340
Switzerland -----	228	1040	1129
Ohio -----	104	379	425

See the New Albany *Ledger*, November 4, 1858.

⁴² New Albany *Tribune*, October 15, 20, 1858; Madison Courier, November 17, 1858.

had been introduced in the legislature of 1855, but as in that case, nothing was done with it.⁴³

Throughout the year 1859 the Americans were maneuvering for a recognition which the Republicans were unwilling to concede. While sympathizing with the aims of the latter party, they stood aloof and watched the progress of events. The Americans would continue to pursue a policy of masterly inactivity because the Republicans were too sectional. Yet harmonious action was necessary because the latter could not succeed without American aid. If the Republican party would pursue a more liberal policy and plant itself upon a platform upon which all the elements of the opposition could stand, the Americans gave assurance of hearty co-operation. Such a combination would be necessary to carry Indiana and the few other doubtful states which were necessary for success.⁴⁴

Without a distinct renunciation of some of the leading objects of Republicanism, and a stop to the agitation of the slavery question by the Republicans, there can be no union—no coalition with the elements of the opposition,

was the stand of the *Evansville Journal*. The Americans would insist that all useless agitation should cease and that extreme views should be repudiated. On the other hand, they would just as firmly resist the aggressions of the slave power and they repudiated the heresy that the constitution carried slavery into the territories.⁴⁵

The Americans, in the belief that they held the balance of power in the state, threatened to put out a separate ticket unless the Republicans gave them and the old Whigs some recognition in the state convention. The *New Albany Tribune* formulated a series of demands which represented the views of the Americans. They were as follows:

1. That an 'Opposition' convention be called in which Republicans, Americans and Whigs shall participate, fully, freely, and fairly.

⁴³ *New Albany Tribune*, December 14, 1858. Mention is made in the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 4-5, 1859, of a convention supposed to have been held at Indianapolis, February 3, of Americans, Whigs and conservative men. The *Sentinel* says that the convention must have been small for its reporter could not find it. Whether such a convention or meeting was ever held is uncertain for there is no other mention of it anywhere.

⁴⁴ *New Albany Tribune*, January 25, 1859.

⁴⁵ *New Albany Tribune*, April 21, 1859.

2. That no man entertaining ultra views upon the slavery question shall be nominated for any office.
3. That the platform adopted shall be national, and not sectional—conservative and not radical.
4. That the delegates to the National Convention shall be instructed to vote for Bates, Bell or Corwin for President.⁴⁶

The Americans demanded to enter the partnership upon equal terms or not at all. If the Republicans merely gave them and the Whigs a cold invitation to participate in a "Republican" convention, there would be no fusion and the success of the Democrats was assured.

The first demand of the *Tribune* was complied with. A "Mass State Convention" was summoned to meet at Indianapolis, February 22, 1860. The term Republican was studiously avoided. The call was signed by Thomas C. Slaughter, of Harrison, and Godlove O. Behm, of Tippecanoe, both Know Nothings of 1854.⁴⁷ The Americans responded generally to the call. In Ohio county the first Fusion convention since 1854 was held to send delegates to the state convention. The *Rising Sun Visitor* said:

In this state we are glad to perceive that the Republicans have been growing more liberal, while the Americans, knowing that there is no affinity between them and the Democrats, are now willing to stand upon common grounds with the Republicans.⁴⁸

The Americans hoped to be represented upon the ticket by one or possibly two candidates. The *Terre Haute Union* suggested R. W. Thompson as a suitable candidate for governor. While he might not be acceptable to the radical Republicans, he would gain many conservative votes.⁴⁹ William H. Gregory, of *Rising Sun*, was to be supported by the Americans for secretary of state.⁵⁰ But as the convention drew near the Americans began to doubt that they would be given any consideration. The *New Albany Tribune* complained that Gregory had received no support; only straight Republicans had a

⁴⁶ *New Albany Tribune*, December 31, 1859.

⁴⁷ *New Albany Tribune*, January 13, 1860.

⁴⁸ *Madison Courier*, February 16, 1860.

⁴⁹ *New Albany Tribune*, February 28, 1859.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, Jan 24, 1860.

chance; the Republican leaders were preparing to control the convention; and the American delegation would be wholly powerless.⁵¹

The ticket nominated by the convention was but partially acceptable to the Americans, according to the *Tribune*.⁵² Henry S. Lane would receive their cordial support for governor, but they had no use for Oliver P. Morton, a Loco-Foco. Because William H. Gregory, the American choice, had received no consideration from the convention, his successful opponent, W. H. Peele, of Randolph, could not be supported. Albert Lange, of Vigo, and Jonathan S. Harvey, of Clark, might expect American votes. But the candidate that saved the ticket was James G. Jones, of Vanderburg, a "Bloody K. N." Fillmore elector of 1856, and a firm and consistent American, who was nominated for attorney-general. The Republicans overshot their mark, however, when they attempted to convert Americans into Republicans by wholesale. The nominees of an "Opposition" convention were labelled a "Republican" ticket.⁵³

The American party, by contesting neither the state nor national elections, lost its identity and disappeared during the campaign. Its members were merged into other parties and the issues of Americanism were swallowed up by the greater ones of slavery and secession.

Those who still sought to escape the slavery question took refuge in the Constitutional Union movement which originated in the first months of 1860.⁵⁴ The membership of this party consisted almost entirely of former Americans. The machinery of the American party in Indiana became that of the Constitutional Union party.

A. H. Davidson, chairman of the American executive committee in 1856, called a meeting of the general committee of the Constitutional Union party to be held at Indianapolis, April 12, 1860. True, his action was somewhat presumptive, for the new party was not identical with the old American

⁵¹ New Albany *Tribune*, February 7, 1860.

⁵² New Albany *Tribune*, February 28, 1860; Madison *Courier*, March 14, 1860.

⁵³ New Albany *Tribune*, February 28, 1860.

⁵⁴ New Albany *Tribune*, February 2, 1860.

party, according to the *New Albany Tribune*.⁵⁵ A number of former Americans answered the call. The convention selected delegates to attend the Baltimore national convention,⁵⁶ most of whom have been mentioned as members of the American party, namely, R. W. Thompson, of Vigo; J. J. Hayden, of Ohio; Samuel Hall, of Gibson; John W. Wright, of Switzerland; Marcellus Calvert, of Ohio; John A. Bridgeland, of Wayne; A. H. Davidson, of Marion; Samuel S. Early, of Vigo; Dr. M. Herndon, of Montgomery; John P. Early, of Laporte; and John W. Dawson, of Allen.⁵⁷ The executive central committee likewise consisted largely of former Americans, as follows: Lewis Howes, of Vanderburg; Dennis Gregg, of Floyd; J. D. Thomasson, of Lawrence; J. J. Hayden, of Ohio; A. H. Davidson, chairman, H. O'Neal, and W. H. Wright, of Marion; James L. Bradley, of Johnson; Walter S. Cooper, of Vigo; Dr. C. W. Prather, of Montgomery; John P. Early, of Laporte; and J. McNutt Smith, of Allen.

The *Rising Sun Visitor* and the *Seymour Times*, two of the few remaining American papers, refused to support the Bell-Everett movement on the ground that it would merely serve to divide the opposition and keep the Democrats in power.⁵⁸

The state convention of the new party was held at Indianapolis, August 15, 1860. Among the old Americans present were: A. H. Davidson and Zalmon Tousey, of Marion; J. J. Hayden, of Ohio; J. D. Thomasson, of Lawrence; Captain Meekin and Dennis Gregg, of Floyd; F. Y. Carlisle and J. E. Blythe, of Vanderburg; R. W. Thompson and W. K. Edwards, of Vigo. An electoral ticket and a platform were put out, but no state ticket was nominated.⁵⁹

Most of the American leaders went into the new party, but not all. David T. Laird became a Democrat and was a candi-

⁵⁵ *New Albany Tribune*, April 25, 1860. The *Tribune* was now a Republican paper.

⁵⁶ *Indianapolis Journal*, April 12, 1860; *New Albany Tribune*, April 18, 1860.

⁵⁷ But two delegates attended the convention and only R. W. Thompson played a prominent part there. He was one of the vice-presidents and a member of the committee on resolutions. See *Indianapolis Journal*, May 10, 1860.

⁵⁸ *Indianapolis Journal*, May 22, 1860; *Madison Courier*, May 30, 1860.

⁵⁹ *Indianapolis Journal*, July 12, August 16, 1860; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, August 16, 1860; *Rockport Democrat*, August 18, 1860.

date for representative of Spencer county.⁶⁰ The Douglas Democrats, who had combined with the Americans in certain southern states, made persistent efforts to secure American support in Indiana, but met with little success.⁶¹ R. W. Thompson was opposed to any such union on the ground that it would swallow up Americanism.

The Americans in many portions of the state came out for Lincoln.⁶² The New Albany *Tribune* advised Fillmore men to vote for Lincoln because he opposed negro equality or interference with slavery in the District of Columbia; opposed the extension of slave territory; and favored the enforcement of the fugitive slave law.⁶³

At the state election, which came in October, the Americans supported the Opposition ticket almost unanimously, as the vote of the various counties shows. Taking those counties where the Americans had polled a large vote in 1856, the result in 1860 shows that Lane received a vote approximately equal to that of both Fremont and Fillmore, while Hendricks received practically the same as Willard. The greater portion of Lane's vote in southern Indiana must have come from former Americans.⁶⁴

The Constitutional Union party polled but 5,306 votes in the entire state, practically all of which came from the American districts. This party's strength in 1860 was in each county about twenty-five per cent of the American strength in 1856. This leads to but one conclusion—the Constitutional Unionists were practically all former Americans and about one-fourth of the Fillmore vote went to Bell and Everett.

⁶⁰ Rockport *Democrat*, July 21, 1860.

⁶¹ Madison *Courier*, October 3, 10, 1860; Indianapolis *Journal*, August 8-9, 1860.

⁶² Indianapolis *Journal*, June 6, 1860.

⁶³ New Albany *Tribune*, June 11, 1860.

⁶⁴ For example compare the following:

County	Fremont	Fillmore	Lane
Clark -----	492	1074	1573
Dubois -----	21	236	234
Floyd -----	228	1262	1676
Harrison -----	773	623	1691
Lawrence -----	480	660	1272
Ohio -----	104	379	464
Posey -----	306	625	993
Switzerland -----	228	1040	1081

See the Indianapolis *Journal*, December 4, 1860, for the official vote of all counties.

In the presidential election in November Lincoln made tremendous gains over the Fremont vote in southern Indiana. Three-fourths of the Fillmore men must have voted for him. The old Know Nothings of 1854 were becoming Republicans in 1860. The figures for the election show this conclusively. While the combined vote of Douglas and Breckenridge varied little from that of Buchanan, the Lincoln and Bell vote equaled that of Fremont and Fillmore, but the proportions were reversed.⁶⁵

Most of the Know Nothings of 1854, as we have seen, sooner or later found their way into the Republican party. Those with the most pronounced anti-slavery views had followed Orth, Colfax, and Cumbach, in the first secession, which came after the introduction of the third degree and the adoption of the "twelfth section" platform in 1855. The long alliance with the Republicans in the Fusion movements, 1854-60, made the step easier after the defeat of Fillmore. Those who still remained too conservative went to the Republicans by the way of the Constitutional Union party. Among the last were many of the leaders, including R. W. Thompson, who became active and prominent as a Republican.

Thus the Know Nothing party passed quietly out of existence. Its career had been as stormy as it had been brief. But the Know Nothings were not to blame, for they must be judged by the standards of the time. They engaged in riots, but this was the period of Civil war in Kansas and of John Brown's raid. Politics never were more bitter than in those years, 1854-60. They hated their opponents and were as cordially hated in return.

It is difficult to justify their principles. But as it is still

⁶⁵ The result in the following counties is illustrative:

County	Fremont	Fillmore	Lincoln	Bell
Clark -----	492	1074	1369	316
Dubois -----	21	236	301	20
Floyd -----	228	1262	1151	320
Harrison -----	773	623	1593	17
Lawrence -----	480	660	1158	208
Ohio -----	104	379	301	174
Orange -----	49	606	849	85
Pike -----	80	574	894	39
Posey -----	306	625	1055	168
Switzerland -----	228	1040	734	510

See the *Indianapolis Journal*, December 14, 1860, for the vote in all counties.

possible to arouse religious prejudice and the fear of "pauper foreigners," can we wonder that in those trying times our countrymen became alarmed? There are still believers in great conspiracies.

The most repellant feature of the organization was its secret political method. Such methods are certainly incompatible with Democratic ideals. They can be justified only in the case of a downtrodden people struggling for their rights.

The Know Nothing order left but a slight impress upon our politics or institutions. It served as a demonstration that any attempt at ecclesiastical control would be successfully resisted. In the same way it was a protest against immigrants who refuse to become Americanized—by no means a dead issue in this day of the "hyphenated" American. The Know Nothing movement served as a convenient means to bridge over the gap made by the disappearance of the Whig party until the time was ripe for the appearance of the Republican party. The long association with the latter party, and the fact that most of the northern Know Nothings later joined it, was a great factor in determining the policy of that party with respect to the period of naturalization.

In conclusion we may say that the sincerity of the men who joined the order of the Star-Spangled Banner can not be questioned. They believed that they were combatting great dangers which threatened our freedom and they made use of the means which seemed most likely to insure success.

Historical News

By THE INDIANA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

June 18 at Waverly Beach, Porter county, Indiana, the Dune-Kankakee historical society was formed, the newest sectional historical association in Indiana. The occasion of the meeting was a joint session of the historical societies from Lake, Porter, Laporte, and St. Joseph counties, held in connection with the Dunes summer camp program. At this joint meeting emphasis was placed upon cooperation among the counties of northwestern Indiana, particularly those situated in the Dune-Kankakee region. It is the plan of the society to include in its organization in addition to the four counties above named, Marshall, Starke, Jasper and Benton. The officers elected include: George B. Beitner of South Bend, president; Louis J. Bailey of Gary, vice president; Mrs. J. H. Willey of Plymouth, secretary. The society will hold at least one regular meeting a year, following the plan of the Southwestern Indiana historical society, by holding their meetings from time to time in the different counties.

The semi-annual meeting of the Southwestern Indiana historical society met June 1 at New Harmony. Approximately two hundred persons attended the meeting and enjoyed not only the interesting papers that had been prepared, but more particularly the historical pilgrimage through the village of New Harmony. Two papers of special interest were: "Historical New Harmony" by Miss Louise Husband; and "General Thomas Posey" by Judge John E. Iglehart, president of the society. A memorial tribute was paid to the late Judge Arthur H. Taylor, vice president of the Pike County historical society.

June 24, 1922, one hundred and forty-four years to the day from the time when Gen. George Rogers Clark departed from the falls of the Ohio river with his little army of less than two hundred men on that historical conquest which led to the capture of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, a marker was unveiled, located near the site where General Clark's old home stood. Following the brilliant success that attended the

numerous military conquests of General Clark, he settled down in a log cabin which stood on the banks of the Ohio river where he spent the later days of his life. The Ann Rogers Clark chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Indiana society of the Sons of the Revolution, and the Indiana historical commission united in placing the marker that was unveiled near Clark's old home in Clarksville

July 4, the Indiana Historical Commission and the Hoosier automobile association dedicated a marker, a few miles south-east of Kokomo on the Pumpkinville pike, on the side of the road where an automobile made its first successful trial run in America, July 4, 1894. The car was designed and invented by Elwood Haynes, Kokomo, and now is one of the permanent exhibits in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C. This "horseless" car, for such it was called, was by special consent loaned to the committee in charge of the exercises, and was brought all the way from Washington to Kokomo where it was on exhibit for three days.

June 14, a massive boulder marking the site of the last French fort built in Indiana, was unveiled in Fort Wayne. The marker was erected and dedicated by the Mary Penrose Wayne chapter, D. A. R. The inscription on the bronze tablet calls attention to the fact that the last fort was erected in 1750; surrendered to the British in 1760; Ensign Richard Holmes and the British garrison were massacred by the Miami Indians on this spot in 1763; and that a battle was fought there October 22, 1790 between Gen. Joseph Hamar and the Miami Indians led by Little Turtle.

A marker at the grave of Thomas Montgomery, Revolutionary soldier and pioneer settler in Gibson county, whither he came in 1806, was dedicated on Sunday, June 18, 1922. The cemetery in which Thomas Montgomery lies, is located back of Miller Montgomery's (grandson) home. Historical papers and addresses were read by Zack Emerson of Cynthiana, Mrs. George R. Simpson, a descendant of Thomas Montgomery, and Judge Lucius Embree, vice president of the Gibson County historical society.

July 3, a marker was dedicated in Shelbyville, Indiana, on the site of the first railroad built west of the Allegheny

mountains. Judge W. J. Peasley, one of the early settlers in Shelby county, during the early part of the year 1834, built a road one and one-half miles long just east of Shelbyville, consisting of wooden ties and rails, on which the cars were drawn by horse power. The formal opening of the road occurred July 4, 1834, and a parade which formed at the courthouse marched to the western terminus of the road. A company of light infantry followed by Revolutionary soldiers, and a committee of citizens formed the parade. Also twenty-five little girls dressed in white, trimmed with blue, bearing the banners of the several states at that time, were in the line of march.

June 14 and 15, 1922, Rush county held its centennial celebration, commemorating the one hundred year's growth of the county since its organization in 1822. Under the direction of Miles S. Cox, chairman of the executive committee, considerable preliminary work had been carried on along educational lines through the schools of the county, clubs, civic and fraternal organizations, acquainting the citizens of the county with the developments that had occurred during the last century. The centennial exercises extended over two days, and an historical parade, addresses and a pageant were the main features of the celebration. A large collection of historical relics was brought together in Rushville for this occasion. Not only were the store windows filled with valuable historical relics, but a newly constructed garage was turned over to the committee and in this spacious building relics and exhibits of rare value were on display. A pageant depicting the growth of different townships in Rush county concluded the celebration.

An outgrowth of the Rush county centennial was the organization of a Rush County historical society, organized June 14. The officers elected are Miles S. Cox, president; Mary Sleeth, secretary; and A. L. Gary, treasurer.

Another centennial celebration that deserves special mention was that held in Shelby county, July 4, 1922. An historical parade, in which the different townships of the county were represented, formed the chief historical feature of the celebration. The "spirit of 1776", followed by the soldiers

of various wars, led the parade. The industrial, commercial and agricultural interests of the county were also represented. Conestoga wagon, floats of George Washington, "The Bears of Blue River" and other scenes and exhibits characteristic of Shelby county history were included in the parade. A special exhibit of relics was on display in the various store windows about the public square. Historical addresses were made at the fair grounds by ex-governor George Kendall of Iowa; a native of Shelby county; ex-mayor Charles W. Jewett of Indianapolis; Rev. James E. Montgomery of Washington, D. C., chaplain of the house of representatives. Spurred on by the historical interests that had been awakened during the celebration, Dr. Samuel Kennedy, one of Shelbyville's most prominent citizens, announced he would donate a lot to the Shelby county historical society if one were organized, to be used for erecting and maintaining a building thereon, to house Shelby county's historical records and relics. On Thursday night, August 3, a meeting was called in Shelbyville at which the Shelby County historical society was organized. Miss Lucy Elliott represented the historical commission at this meeting. More than thirty charter members signed up at the first meeting. R. W. Harrison was elected president; Lottie Chapman, vice president; Mrs. Katharine Kennedy (Mrs. Samuel), secretary; Clarence Crockett, treasurer. A constitution was adopted, and the society voted to hold four regular meetings annually.

Jasper County historical society and a number of interested friends numbering more than fifty, toured the mound region of the central part of Jasper county on Tuesday, June 20. Twin mounds were visited near Groom's bridge, and a mound in the yard of the Pullin farm. Some excavations have been made in the latter mound and two large sized skeletons were found in a sitting posture, elbows on knees and hands on cheeks. John E. Alter, author of *Hoosier Hunting Grounds*, was in charge of the party and is making plans for a second historical trip over the old Indian trail that originally ran through Jasper county. Historical pilgrimages are serving a valuable purpose in acquainting the citizens of Indiana with the interesting history that lies at their very doors.

It is worthy of note that the man who conceived and gave impetus to the rural mail delivery idea was in his boyhood days a resident of Kosciusko county, Indiana. Rural delivery of mail was first officially suggested by Postmaster General John Wanamaker in his annual report for the fiscal year of 1891. The first bill authorizing rural delivery was introduced in the house of representatives January 5, 1892, by James O'Donnell, member of congress from Michigan. This bill carried an appropriation of \$6,000,000, but failed of passage. March 3, 1893, congress appropriated \$10,000 for experimental rural delivery. July 16 1894, the sum of \$20,000 was appropriated for the same purpose, and again on June 9, 1896, an additional \$10,000 was authorized. The first experimental rural delivery service was established October 1, 1896, simultaneously on three routes, from Charleston, Uvilla and Halltown, W. Va.—John B. Stoll in *Indianapolis Star*, July 22, 1922.

John B. Stoll in *Indianapolis Star*, July 22, 1922.

St. Joseph's college at Collegeville, just south of Rensselaer, an Indian school which was erected more than thirty years ago, is being moved this summer to Carthagen, Ohio. This Indian school was founded by Katherine Drexel. Years ago Miss Drexel furnished the Indian Bureau of Washington, D. C. the money necessary to purchase 240 acres of land and to erect a three story building thereon where Indian boys could be educated. In 1888 the Community of the Most Precious Blood came into possession of the estate and each year Indians from Minnesota, Wisconsin, the Dakotas and Michigan were brought to this college where they were enrolled as students.

The Indiana Lincoln Memorial association, organized July 10, 1922, has as its object

the promotion of a movement looking toward the erection and maintenance of a fitting memorial to commemorate the youth of Abraham Lincoln, spent upon Indiana soil; the collection, publication, and preservation of books, pamphlets, papers, maps, pictures, manuscripts, letters, journals, the collection of relics and other material relating especially to the youth of Lincoln, and in general to his life and public career.

This organization was the outgrowth of a trip which twelve loyal Hoosiers, Frank B. Wynn, Kate Milner Rabb, Mary Lucy Campbell, Martha E. Rihl, John W. Oliver, Lucy M. Elliott, Edna B. Gearhart, Ruth L. Armstrong, Vivian K.

Sowers, Kenneth B. Cohee, Eugene C. Foster and Harry Wishard Glossbrenner, took June 24-25, 1922 to Hodgenville, Kentucky. There within the walls of the Lincoln Memorial, on the spot where the martyred President was born, the "twelve apostles" pledged themselves not to rest until a fitting memorial has been erected in Indiana, commemorating the youth of Lincoln, spent on Indiana soil. The officers elected are: Dr. Frank B. Wynn, president; William A. Guthrie, first vice president; Harlow Lindley, second vice president; Kate Milner Rabb, secretary, and Harry W. Glossbrenner, treasurer.

DR. FRANK B. WYNN

May 28, 1860-July 27, 1922

Dr. Frank Barbour Wynn, President of the Indiana historical commission met his death on July 27, 1922, while climbing Mt. Siyeh, in Glacier National park, Montana. Few men in Indiana have served their state better, or rendered more valuable service to its citizens than Dr. Wynn. He was born in Franklin county, May 28, 1860, moved with his parents to a farm near Scipio, Jennings county, in early life; graduated from Depauw university in 1883, received the degree of doctor of medicine from the Ohio medical college, Cincinnati, 1885; and was granted an A.M. degree from Depauw university in 1886. In 1891 he became a member of the medical staff of the Northern hospital for insane at Logansport, Indiana. During the years 1892 to 1893 he engaged in special post-graduate work in New York, Berlin and Vienna. In 1893 he located in Indianapolis, and in 1895 was made the city sanitarian.

In 1895 he was appointed to the chair of Medical Diagnosis in the Indiana University school of medicine, which position he held until the time of his death. He stood at the very top of his profession, not only in Indiana, but in the national organization as well. He founded the scientific section of the American medical association and was chairman of the section for many years. In 1909 he was awarded the gold medal by the medical association for the best tuberculosis exhibit. In

1921 Dr. Wynn was elected vice president of the American medical association.

But in the midst of his busy professional life Dr. Wynn always found time to promote civic, religious, and educational movements. He led in the movement that was organized in 1911, looking toward the centennial celebration of Indiana's one hundred years of statehood, which occurred in 1916.

Dr. Wynn served as vice president of the Indiana historical commission from the date of its organization in 1915 until 1921, when he was elected president. He was also serving as president of the Indiana Nature Study club at the time of his death. Perhaps the movement that was most near to Dr. Wynn's heart at the time of his death was the Indiana Lincoln Memorial association, of which he was the founder. Only a few weeks before he left on his mountain climbing trip he had been responsible for the organization of the Lincoln association, the primary object of which is to erect a fitting memorial somewhere in Indiana, dedicated to the youth of Lincoln spent upon Indiana soil. Dr. Wynn was the first president of this organization.

In his death Indiana suffers an irreparable loss. Student and scholar, a scientific investigator, a humanitarian, a leader in all patriotic and historical movements, a devoted student of Lincoln, and a lover of the great outdoors, his character will always stand for the best type of Indiana manhood.

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Tecumseh and Pushmataha

By J. WESLEY WHICKER, Attica

Tecumseh, the celebrated Shawnee chief, was born in 1768 at the Shawnee village of Piqua in the state of Ohio. His father was killed in the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. The Shawnee town of Piqua was destroyed by the Kentuckians in 1780. After the death of his father Tecumseh was placed under the care of his elder brother who in turn was killed in a battle with the whites on the Tennessee frontier in 1788, and still another of his brothers was killed by his side at Wayne's Victory in 1794.

His mother was born in the state of Alabama and was a Creek Indian by birth. The Creek Indians, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles and Cherokees were Muscogeans, while the Shawnees were Algonquins.

In 1811 in making a speech at Tallassee, Alabama on the Tallapoosa river, to five thousand Muscogean warriors, he said:

O, Muscogeans, brethren of my mother, brush from your eyelids the sleep of slavery. Once more strike for vengeance. Once more strike for your country. The spirits of the mighty dead complain. Their tears drop from the weeping skies. Let the white race perish. Burn their dwellings. Destroy their stock. Slay their wives and children. The red men own this country. The pale face must never enjoy it.

Tecumseh was more fitted than any Indian chieftain to form a great confederacy of all the western and southern tribes to oppose the advance of the white settlers of the

United States. No one knew this better than the English, who at that time controlled the posts at Macinac and Detroit, although they had vacated these posts in 1796. The idea of a confederation of all the tribes was not original with Tecumseh. It was the inspiration of King Philip, Brant, Red Jacket, Pontiac and Little Turtle.

These chieftains were all Algonquins and it was the desire of the English that the Indian confederacy include both the great divisions of the Indian tribes and Tecumseh, being a cross between these two great divisions, was the chieftain most suited to their purpose. Every speech made by Tecumseh, every act of his, from 1807 until his death in 1813, was inspired by the English officials in Canada and no one knew this better than William Henry Harrison, then governor of the territory of Indiana.

On the 27th of July, 1811, Tecumseh arrived at Vincennes. At the close of his interview with the governor which took place at this time Tecumseh declared it was not his intention to make war against the United States; that the northern tribes were united and he was going to visit the southern Indians and would return to the Prophets' Town; on his return he would visit the president of the United States and settle all causes of difficulty between the Indians and him and he hoped no attempt would be made to make settlement on the lands which had been sold to the United States at the treaty at Fort Wayne.

Soon after the close of this conference with Governor Harrison Tecumseh, attended by from twenty to thirty Indian warriors, suddenly took his departure from Vincennes and proceeded down the Wabash river on his way to the south for the purpose of disseminating his views among the Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws and Seminoles. His real object was to get those tribes of Indians to join with the Indian tribes of the northern states and support England in a war against the United States. He would have accomplished his purpose had it not been for the fact that the Choctaws had a chieftain as loyal to the United States as Tecumseh was to England, in Pushmataha, who was a Choctaw of unknown ancestry, born on the banks of Noxuba creek in Noxubee county, Mississippi, in 1764. Before he was twenty years of age he had distinguished himself in an expedition against

the Osage Indians west of the Mississippi. The boy disappeared early in this conflict, which lasted all day and upon joining the Choctaw warriors was jeered at and accused of cowardice whereupon Pushmataha replied "Let those laugh who can show more scalps than I can." Therewith he produced five scalps which he threw upon the ground, the result of a single-handed onslaught on the enemies' rear. This incident gained for him the name Eagle and won for him a chieftaincy. Later he became Mingo of the Olkahamnali or six districts of Choctaws and exercised much influence in promoting friendly relations with the whites. He strongly opposed Tecumseh's movement and it was largely through him that the Shawnee chieftain's mission among the Muscogean failed.

In the memorial exercises at the grave of Pushmataha on Decoration Day, May 29, 1921, the meeting of these two great chieftains was brought out very plainly and published in the *Congressional Record*, June 13, 1921. Hon. Charles D. Carter (himself an Indian), senator from Oklahoma, was master of ceremonies and delivered the following address:

When the busy closing hours of the Sixty-first congress were dragging along toward midnight, a page came to me on the floor and told me that Mr. Adam Byrd, from Mississippi, who was retiring from congress, was about to leave for home and desired to see me for a few moments before departing. Mr. Byrd led me to a secluded spot in the Democratic cloakroom and after a brief explanation enjoined on me two responsibilities, which he said he felt it my duty to undertake. The first has no connection with this meeting today, but after finishing that this fine old fellow said in a most serious way, 'Charley, you are an Indian,' and I want to talk to you about another Indian. Old Chief Pushmataha was by long odds the greatest Indian who ever lived. Our southland had many brave, heroic pioneers—Dale, Claiborne, Andrew Jackson, and others—but this primitive, unlettered Indian did as much during the early part of the nineteenth century toward saving the white population and the things it stands for as any of these, not even excepting his bosom friend, Old Hickory himself. Our American people may not be ungrateful, but they are the most thoughtless, forgetful people in the world, for they have woefully neglected giving anything like adequate credit for the valuable services Pushmataha rendered the white people then living south of the Ohio river and their descendants. While he had much to do with making my own state possible, I doubt if there is one school teacher out of fifty in Mississippi who knows anything about his history. I doubt if there are ten men in congress who even know that his body rests out here in congress-

sional cemetery, and before I came here they did not even do his memory the honor to put flowers on his grave on Decoration day. I visit his grave on every Sunday when the weather will permit, and I see that it is properly decorated at the proper time. Now, I know you are not going to visit his grave every Sunday as I have, but I do want you to promise me that you will go out there occasionally and that you will see that the old chief's grave is given proper attention on Decoration day. With 'Good bye, and God bless you,' he went out of the cloak-room, and I never saw him again, for he died shortly afterwards.

I have done my best to keep this pledge, and no Decoration day has passed since that time without appropriate decorations being placed on Pushmataha's grave, but had Adam Byrd failed to make that farewell call on me that night, we might not be here today doing just honor to the memory of this truly great man. Adam Byrd was right. Pushmataha was a great chief. He was one of the greatest Indians who ever lived. He was more than that. He was one of the greatest characters of his generation. The old chief was a skillful hunter, an intrepid warrior, a close student of nature, a powerful orator, and a persuasive debater in the councils of his tribe. He had an acute sense of justice, not only between man and man but between nations as well. By patient and sagacious statesmanship and wise, far-seeing counsel, he successfully steered the Choctaw ship of state through the then turbulent complications without, to use his own proud boast, never having found it necessary 'to raise the tomahawk against the Great White Father at Washington or his children.'

The absorbing ambition of Pushmataha was that his people might become the equal of the whites in education and civilization and take their place beside the white man in a business way, in a professional way, and in the councils of the nation. He was always an advocate of education and industry among his people and contributed much, not only of his time, but of his small income to that end. He was dearly beloved by both the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and after his death one of the executive and judicial districts of his nation in Indian Territory was named in his honor. When the forty-sixth star was added to the constellation of Old Glory the Oklahoma people gave evidence of their appreciation of the memory of this grand old man by naming one of the largest and most beautiful counties of the state for him.

But I must not trespass too greatly upon your time. You are to have the privilege of hearing this great man's life and character discussed by those much better informed and equipped than myself. I will pause only long enough to tell you something of what I believe his own people, the Choctaws, consider one of Pushmataha's greatest achievements. This has to do with the part he took in saving the white man's civilization west of the Alleghenies and specifically his reply to the wonderful address delivered before the Choctaw council by the great Shawnee orator, Tecumseh. The War of 1812 was impending and the British authorities were doing all in their power to stir up antagonism between the Indians and the Americans. The astute Shawnee

chief, Tecumseh, was sent on a tour by British agents to organize all Indians west of the Alleghenies with the purpose to expel the white American beyond the mountains. One of the first tribes he visited was the Choctaw. After his mission had been explained to Pushmataha, the wise old chief advised Tecumseh that he was only one of the three chiefs of the Choctaw nation; that the Choctaws could only take part in any war upon the decision of the general council of the tribe; and that before this was done they would probably desire to consult their kindred tribe and ally, the Chickasaws. Tecumseh then requested that both tribes be called together in order that he might lay his plan before the council. After a consultation with the other two Choctaw chiefs, Masholatubby and Apuckshinubby, and the principal chief of the Chickasaws, a general council of the two tribes was called.

Tecumseh was classed by many of his contemporaries as the most powerful debater of his generation, and this was saying much, for it was during the day of Clay, Calhoun and Webster. Realizing the full power of his oratory, Tecumseh surmised if he could get to speak to the Choctaw people in general council, they would not be able to resist his magnetic eloquence. The council was assembled, and Tecumseh, with his suite of thirty warriors bedecked in panoply of paint and feathers, filed in before the council fire to deliver his address. We must bear in mind that the Shawnees spoke an entirely different language from the Choctaws and Chickasaws, the Shawnees belonging to the Algonquin stock and speaking their dialect, while the Choctaws and Chickasaws are of the Muscogean stock and spoke the Muskogean dialect. Therefore it was necessary for each speech to be translated by an interpreter so all might understand.

The great Shawnee chief was thoroughly familiar with past relations between all Indian tribes and the whites, and he began by recounting all the wrongs perpetrated on the Indians by the palefaces since the landing of Columbus. He related how the white man had beguiled the Indians along the Atlantic coast to part with their lands for a few trifling beads and a little fire water, leaving them beggars, vagabonds, peons and strangers in their own land, to be scorned and despised by their palefare neighbors. He told how the Shawnees and other northern tribes were being stripped of their patrimony. He laid down the principle that the Great Spirit had given the western hemisphere to all red people in common and that no particular tribe had anything more than the right of possession to any lands, and therefore asserted any relinquishment of title by one tribe to be null and void, because many of the owners had not joined in the transfer. These wrongs he declared had been made possible by the ingenuity of the whites in attacking only one tribe at a time, but if all Indians would join and combine their forces in one attack at one time, the white man could be driven back over the mountains whence he came; that the golden opportunity was now at hand to join hands with the British and scourge from their revered hunting grounds eternally the hated paleface. He closed his eloquent address with a stirring appeal to the patriotism of the Choc-

taws and Chickasaws, asking if they would await complete submission or would they not join hands and fight beside the Shawnees and other tribes rather than submit?

Evidently Tecumseh's purpose had been fully accomplished. His magnetic words seemed to arouse every vindictive sentiment within the souls of the Choctaw and Chickasaw warriors; their savage enthusiasm had been stirred to white heat when Pushmataha calmly strode before the council fire and began his wonderful reply to Tecumseh's speech. What a pity that no accurate account of this wonderful debate between these two giant primitive orators was at that time preserved. Lincecum, Pickett, Randall and other historians have left us brief excerpts. Cushman undertakes to give Pushmataha's speech in full, but his recital does not even do faint justice to the original and in no measure conforms to the Choctaw's account of it. For many years it was handed down from generation to generation by tradition to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, but it can be easily understood how that method might fail to preserve all the virile force and eloquence of this wonderful address. I will undertake to give it to you in part as nearly as I remember hearing it told by some of the old Indians many years ago. Pushmataha began his address as follows:

'Omiske, tushkahoma ho chukma hashche yumma! Anumpa tilo-fasih ish huklo.

(Attention, my good red warriors! Hear ye my brief remarks.)

The great Shawnee orator has portrayed in vivid picture the wrongs inflicted on his and other tribes by the ravages of the paleface. The candor and fervor of his eloquent appeal breathe the conviction of truth and sincerity, and, as kindred tribes, naturally we sympathize with the misfortunes of his people. I do not come before you in any disputation either for or against these charges. It is not my purpose to contradict any of these allegations against the white man, but neither am I here to indulge in any indiscreet denunciation of him which might bring down upon my people unnecessary difficulty and embarrassment.

The distinguished Shawnee sums up his eloquent appeal to us with this direct question:

Will you sit idly by, supinely awaiting complete and abject submission, or will you die fighting beside your brethren, the Shawnees, rather than submit to such ignominy?

These are plain words and it is well they have been spoken, for they bring the issue squarely before us. Mistake not, this language means war. And war with whom, pray? War with some band of marauders who have committed these depredations against the Shawnees? War with some alien host seeking the destruction of the Choctaws and Chickasaws? Nay, my fellow tribesmen. None of these are the enemy we will be called on to meet. If we take up arms against the Americans we must of necessity meet in deadly combat our daily neighbors and associates in this part of the country near our homes.

If Tecumseh's words be true, and we doubt them not, then the Shawnees' experience with the whites has not been the same as that

of the Choctaws. These white Americans buy our skins, our corn, our cotton, our surplus game, our baskets, and other wares, and they give us in fair exchange their cloth, their guns, their tools, implements, and other things which the Choctaws need but do not make. It is true we have befriended them, but who will deny that we have been abundantly reciprocated? They have given us cotton gins, which simplify the cleaning and sale of our cotton; they have encouraged and helped us in the production of our crops; they have taken many of our wives into their homes to teach them useful things, and pay them for their work while learning; they are teaching our children to read and write from their books. You all remember well the dreadful epidemic visited upon us last winter, and during its darkest hours these neighbors whom we are now urged to attack responded generously to our needs. They doctored our sick; they clothed our suffering; they fed our hungry, and where is the Choctaw or Chickasaw delegation who has ever gone to St. Stephens with a worthy cause and been sent away empty handed? So in marked contrast with the experience of the Shawnees, it will be seen that the whites and Indians in this section are living on friendly and mutually beneficial terms.

Forget not, O Choctaws and Chickasaws, that we are bound in peace to the Great White Father at Washington by a sacred treaty and the Great Spirit will punish those who break their word. The Great White Father has never violated that treaty and the Choctaws have never yet been driven to the necessity of taking up the tomahawk against him or his children. Therefore the question before us tonight is not the avenging of any wrongs perpetrated against us by the whites, for the Choctaws and Chickasaws have no such cause, either real or imaginary, but rather it is a question of carrying on that record of fidelity and justice for which our forefathers ever proudly stood, and doing that which is best calculated to promote the welfare of our own people. Yea, my fellow tribesmen, we are a just people. We do not take up the warpath without a just cause and honest purpose. Have we that just cause against our white neighbors, who have taken nothing from us except by fair bargain and exchange? Is this a just recompense for their assistance to us in our agricultural and other pursuits? Is this to be their gracious reward for teaching our children from their books? Shall this be considered the Choctaws' compensation for feeding our hungry, clothing our needy, and administering to our sick? Have we, O Choctaws and Chickasaws, descended to the low estate of ruthlessly breaking the faith of a sacred treaty? Shall our forefathers look back from the happy hunting grounds only to see their unbroken record for justice, gratitude, and fidelity thus rudely repudiated and abruptly abandoned by an unworthy offspring?

We Choctaws and Chickasaws are a peaceful people, making our subsistence by honest toil; but mistake not, my Shawnee brethren, we are not afraid of war. Neither are we strangers to war, as those who have undertaken to encroach upon our rights in the past may abundantly testify. We are thoroughly familiar with war in all its details

and we know full well all its horrible consequences. It is unnecessary for me to remind you, O Choctaws and Chickasaws, veteran braves of many fierce conflicts in the past, that war is an awful thing. If we go into this war against the Americans, we must be prepared to accept its inevitable results. Not only will it foretoken deadly conflict with neighbors and death to warriors, but it will mean suffering for our women, hunger and starvation for our children, grief for our loved ones, and devastation of our homes. Notwithstanding these difficulties, if the cause be just, we should not hesitate to defend our rights to the last man, but before that fatal step is irrevocably taken, it is well that we fully understand and seriously consider the full portent and consequences of the act.

Hear me, O Choctaws and Chicksaws, for I speak truly for your welfare. It is not the province of your chiefs to settle these important questions. As a people, it is your prerogative to have either peace or war, and as one of your chiefs, it is mine simply to advise. Therefore, let me admonish you that this critical period is no time to cast aside your wits and let blind impulse sway; be not driven like dumb brutes by the frenzied harangue of this wonderful Shawnee orator; let your good judgment rule and ponder seriously before breaking bonds that have served you well and ere you change conditions which have brought peace and happiness to your wives, your sisters, and your children. I would not undertake to dictate the course of one single Choctaw warrior. Permit me to speak for the moment, not as your chief but as a Choctaw warrior, weighing this question beside you. As such I shall exercise my calm, deliberate judgment in behalf of those most dear to me and dependent on me, and I shall not suffer my reason to be swept away by this eloquent recital of alleged wrongs which I know naught of. I deplore this war., I earnestly hope it may be averted, but if it be forced upon us I shall take my stand with those who have stood by my people in the past and will be found fighting beside our good friends of St. Stephens and surrounding country. I have finished. I call on all Choctaws and Chickasaws indorsing my sentiments to cast their tomahawks on this side of the council fire with me.'

The air resounded with the clash of tomahawks cast on the side of the Choctaw chief and only a few warriors seemed still undecided. Tecumseh seeing the purpose of his mission thwarted and thinking Pushmataha could not understand the Shawnee language, spoke to his warriors in his native tongue, saying: 'Pushmataha is a coward and the Choctaw and Chicksaw braves are squaws,' but Pushmataha had traveled much and knew a smattering of many Indian dialects. He understood Tecumseh and turning upon the Shawnee with all the fire of his eloquence, he clinched the argument and settled the decision of the few wavering Choctaw braves by saying:

'Halt, Tecumseh! Listen to me. You have come here, as you have often gone elsewhere, with a purpose to involve peaceful people in unnecessary trouble with their neighbors. Our people have had no undue

friction with the whites. Why? Because we have had no leaders stirring up strife to serve their selfish, personal ambitions. You heard me say that our people are a peaceful people. They make their way, not by ravages upon their neighbors but by honest toil. In that regard they have nothing in common with you. I know your history well. You are a disturber. You have ever been a trouble maker. When you have found yourself unable to pick a quarrel with the white man, you have stirred up strife between different tribes of your own race. Not only that, you are a monarch and unyielding tyrant within your own domain. Every Shawnee man, woman, and child, must bow in humble submission to your imperious will. The Choctaws and Chickasaws have no monarchs. Their chieftains do not undertake the mastery of their people, but rather are they the people's servants, elected to serve the will of the majority. The majority has spoken on this question and it has spoken against your contention. Their decision has therefore become the law of the Choctaws and Chickasaws and Pushmataha will see that the will of the majority so recently expressed is rigidly carried out to the letter. If, after this decision, any Choctaw should be so foolish as to follow your imprudent advice and enlist to fight against the Americans, thereby abandoning his own people and turning against the decision of his own council, Pushmataha will see that proper punishment is meted out to him, which is death. You have made your choice; you have elected to fight with the British. The Americans have been our friends and we shall stand by them. We will furnish you safe conduct to the boundaries of this nation as properly befits the dignity of your office. Farewell, Tecumseh. You will see Pushmataha no more until we meet on the fateful war-path.'

Obviously these two noble sons of the forest and their tribes has reached the point where the trail divides. The Choctaws and Chickasaws were persuaded to refuse participation in Tecumseh's conspiracy against the Americans and the action of these two powerful tribes prevented many other Indians from siding with the British. The Choctaws and Chickasaws finally joined hands with the Americans and fought from the early battles of the war to the Battle of New Orleans, and Pushmataha arose to the rank of brigadier general in the American army.

On his return Tecumseh stopped for a short time with the Creek Indians. He was disappointed in the turn his mission had taken at the meeting with the Choctaws and started home with his bodyguard of warriors. He crossed the Ohio river near Shawneetown and traveled along the edge of the grand prairie to a point a little north of Danville, Illinois

where he turned east. When he crossed the Harrison trail it was dark and he was in a hurry to get to the Prophet's Town and he did not notice that an army had passed. He crossed the Wabash river near Covington and stayed over night about two miles north of Covington.

He and his party arose early in the morning and went to the Miami Indian camp near where Tippecanoe county and Montgomery county corner at the Fountain county line.

He found this camp vacated and no signs of life. He thought perhaps the Prophet had called in the scattered families but he had no idea of the great disaster that had befallen his Indian followers, and he hurried on to the mouth of the Tippecanoe river. It was dark when he reached the site of the Prophet's Town. He had not met a single soul to give him any information. As he peered through the darkness there was no light and no sound, nor any indication of life in the village that he had left on his southern trip. In the village he found one lone inhabitant, an old Indian squaw who had been unable to travel with the rest of the Indians when they left. She related to him the results of the battle of Tippecanoe and told him the Shawnees and those who had survived the battle had gone to Canada. He stayed over night at the camp and early the next morning he started on his journey sad and broken-hearted to join the scattered remnants of the northern tribes that had gathered about him.

He allied himself immediately with the English in Canada and by them was made a brigadier-general in the British service and commander-in-chief of all the Indian allies of the War of 1812 in the British army.

In the late spring or early summer of 1813 Tecumseh made a second trip to Alabama, to see the Muscogean Indians. On this trip he appeared in an entirely different role. His hope of a confederation of all the Indian tribes north and south had completely faded away with the signal defeat of his brother, the Prophet, at the battle of Tippecanoe, and now he was a brigadier-general in the English army and his object was to get his mother's tribes, the Muscogean Indians, to cast their fortunes with himself and the English in the war that was then a reality.

Lossing says in *The First Century of the United States Affairs* in the extreme south assumed a serious aspect during the summer of 1813. In the spring of that year Tecumseh (who was slain on the Thames a few months later) went among the southern tribes to arouse them to wage war upon the white people and the powerful Creeks yielded to his persuasions.

Charles A. Goodrich says, in his *History of the United States*:

The discontentment of the warring spirit of the Creeks had been much increased and their hostile spirit inflamed through the influence of the celebrated Tecumseh, who in 1813 had made them a visit, at which time he passed through the region with a view to persuade them to shake off the impressions of civilized life and return to their former more independent and unshackled mode of living. By means of the eloquence of this savage Demosthenes the party hostile to the United States was much increased—a civil war commenced—and a vexatious border warfare was begun upon the whites.

The Creeks received arms and presents from the British government, made with a view to enlisting them against the United States in the war in which the former were now engaged with the latter.

The commencement of hostilities by the Creeks in two months after Tecumseh's second visit was an attack upon Fort Mims, on the 30th of August, 1813. About noon, the garrison of the fort was surprised by about six hundred Indians. At first the American troops stood upon their defense, and repulsed the savages; but on being harangued by their chief, Weatherford, they returned with augmented fury, drove the besieged into the houses and set them on fire. A shocking massacre ensued. Not one was spared by the savage monsters, and but a few effected their escape. Only seventeen out of three hundred men, women and children, who had taken refuge in the fort from adjoining settlements, were left to convey the melancholy tidings to the surrounding inhabitants.

On the receipt of this disastrous intelligence, two thousand men from Tennessee, under General Jackson, and five hundred under General Coffee, immediately marched to the country of the Creeks. On the second of November, General Jackson detached General Coffee, with nine hundred mounted cavalry and mounted riflemen, from his headquarters, the Ten Islands, on the Coosa river, to attack a body of Creeks at Tallushatches. This attack was made on the morning of the third, and resulted in the repulse of the Indians, who lost in killed two hundred, and eighty-four were taken prisoners. The killed and wounded of the Americans were forty-six.

According to a distinguished historian of Mississippi, Dr. Frank Riley, it was on the site of the town of Pushmataha,

Alabama, in 1813, where the Creek Indians had invited the Choctaws to join them in a council, that this Choctaw chief appealed to them for two long July days, from early morn to late evening hours, urging the Creek warriors, with all the fervor, wisdom, and logic at his command, not to heed the illconceived advice of the shrewd Tecumseh, but to remain neutral, and refuse to join in a war upon the American flag.

Chief of a nation that prided itself on never having shed the white man's blood, having won that title by valorous deeds amongst his own race, so distinguished himself, battling in defense of the white man's home that General Jackson commissioned him a brigadier general in the United States army Pushmataha stands out singly and alone the only man of his race who ever attained so high a rank in our army.

Pushmataha returning home by way of St. Stephens, assembled the Choctaw warriors at the council grounds, near Meridian, Mississippi, and delivered to them a memorable oration. After stating to his people that several hundred of his white friends had been killed at Fort Mims, and many massacred in the Tombigbee settlements, and after stating that President Washington, whom he had visited, had advised the Indians not to engage in war, one tribe with another said:

Who that is a man and a warrior can be idle at home and hear of his friends being butchered around him? I am a man and a warrior. I will not advise you to act contrary to the advice of our good father, but I will go and help my friends.

If any of you think proper to follow me voluntarily, I will lead you to victory and to glory! I, too, am a man and a warrior, and will follow the chief!

was shouted back by every one of his sturdy warriors. They followed their chief to victory at the Holy Ground, Horse Shoe Bend, and many other historic battlefields, shedding their blood and laying down their lives for their friends. If the spirit of this mighty chief could look from the happy hunting grounds beyond the sun and view the civilization he saved, it might well declare, "Pushmataha builded better than he knew."

Tecumseh came back north and entered immediately into active service with the British army. He had under his

command some two thousand Indian warriors, representing seventeen allied northern tribes. He led them at Frenchtown, the Raisin, Fort Meigs, and Fort Stevenson, and covered Proctor's retreat after Perry's decisive victory on Lake Erie, until he finally declined to retreat further and compelled Proctor to make a stand on the river Thames, near the present site of Chatham, Ontario, where he, with many of his warriors, were killed on October 5, 1813. The remaining northern Indians immediately deserted the British army.

Charles A. Goodrich, in his history, says of Tecumseh:

He was in several respects the most celebrated Indian warrior which ever raised an arm against the Americans. He had been in almost every engagement with the whites, since Harmar's defeat, although at death he scarcely exceeded forty years of age. Tecumseh has received the stamp of greatness from the hand of nature, and had his lot been cast in a different state of society, he would have shone one of the most distinguished of men. He was endowed with a powerful mind, with the soul of a hero. There was an uncommon dignity in his countenance and manners. By the former he could easily be discovered, even after death, among the rest of the slain, for he wore no insignia of distinction. When girded with a silk sash, and told by General Proctor that he was made a brigadier in the British service, for his conduct at Brownstown and Magagua he returned the present with respectful contempt. Born with no title to command, but his native greatness, every tribe yielded submission to him at once, and no one ever disputed his precedence. Subtle and fierce in war, he was possessed of uncommon eloquence—his speeches might bear a comparison with those of the most celebrated orators of Greece and Rome. His invective was terrible, as may be seen in the reproaches which he applied to Proctor, a few days before his death, in a speech which was found among the papers of the British officer. His form was uncommonly elegant, his stature about six feet, his limbs perfectly proportioned. He was honorably interred by the victors, by whom he was held in much respect, as an inveterate, but magnanimous enemy.

The Creek Indians, under their Prophet, Weatherford, continued in the war with the English.

In January, 1814, General Jackson was reinforced by eight hundred volunteers, designed to supply the place of the Tennessee militia, whose term of service having expired had returned home. With this force he successfully attacked and defeated the Creeks, during the month, at Emucfau and Enotachopco.

Notwithstanding repeated defeats and serious losses, the

Creeks remained unsubdued. Still determined not to yield, they commenced fortifying the bend of the Tallapoosa river, called by them Tohopeka, but by the Americans, Horse-Shoe-Bend. Their principal defense consisted of a breastwork, from five to eight feet high, across the peninsula by means of which nearly one hundred acres of land were rendered admirably secure. Through this breastwork a double row of port-holes were so artfully arranged that whoever assailed it, must be exposed to a double and cross fire from the Indians, who lay behind, to the number of one thousand.

Against this fortified refuge of the infatuated Creeks, General Jackson, having gathered up his forces, proceeded on the twenty-fourth of March. On the night of the twenty-sixth, he encamped within six miles of the bend. On the twenty-seventh, he detached General Coffee, with a competent number of men, to pass the river, at a ford three miles below the bend, for the purpose of preventing the Indians effecting their escape, if inclined, by crossing the river.

With the remainder of his force, General Jackson now advanced to the front of the breastwork, and at half past ten planted his artillery on a small eminence, at only a moderate distance.

Affairs being now arranged, the artillery opened a tremendous fire upon the breastwork, while General Coffee, with his force below, continued to advance towards an Indian village, which stood at the extremity of the peninsula. A well directed fire across the river, which here is but about one hundred yards wide, drove the Indian inhabitants from their houses up to the fortifications.

At length, finding all his arrangements complete, and the favorite moment arrived, General Jackson led on his now animated troops to the charge. For a short time an obstinate contest was maintained at the breastwork—muzzle to muzzle through the port-holes—when the Americans succeeded in gaining the opposite side of the works. A mournful scene of slaughter ensued. In a short time the Indians were routed, and the whole plain was strewn with the dead. Five hundred and fifty-seven were found, and a large number were drowned in attempting to escape by the river. Three hundred women and children were taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans was twenty-six killed, and one hundred and

seven wounded. Eighteen friendly Cherokees were killed, and thirty-six wounded, and five friendly Creeks were killed and eleven wounded.

This signal defeat of the Creeks put an end to the war. Shortly after, the remnant of the nation sent in their submission. Among these was the prophet and leader, Weatherford. In bold and impressive language, he said:

I am in your power. Do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them and fought them bravely. There was a time, when I had a choice. I have none now—even hope is ended. Once, I could animate my warriors; but I cannot animate the dead. They can no longer hear my voice, their bones are at Tallushatches, Talladega, Emucfau, and Tohopeka. While there was a chance of success, I never supplicated peace; but my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation and myself.

On the ninth of August, a treaty was made with them by General Jackson. They agreed to yield a portion of their territory as indemnity for the expenses of the war, to allow the opening of roads through their lands, to admit the whites to the free navigation of their rivers, and to take no more bribes from the British.

All the Indian tribes, both north and south, who were persuaded by the eloquent Shawnee chieftain to follow this forlorn hope and join the English army to drive the Americans from the western frontier, had met with defeat, deserted by the English army, were captured and killed within a year from Tecumseh's return from his second trip south; and when their Indian allies were all gone and the English had to do their own fighting, they were ready to negotiate for terms of peace.

Pushmataha was right. Tecumseh was ever a trouble-maker and a disturber. He was a renegade from his own tribe. He never engaged in a successful warfare or battle, and was at all times a hireling of the British government, using his influence and his relationship with the various tribes of Indians to further his personal interests, and the most that can be said for him is that "He was in several respects the most celebrated Indian warrior which ever raised an arm against the Americans."

Senator Carter is right. Pushmataha, the Choctaw chieftain, was the greatest Indian who ever lived. He died in the

City of Washington, of the croup, in the sixtieth year of his age, after returning from a visit to General Lafayette, on the 24th day of December, 1824. When he was buried in the National cemetery at Arlington, on ground contiguous to the place of interment there was an immense concourse of citizens, a long train of carriages, cavalry, military, bands of music, the whole procession extending at least a mile in length; and there were thousands lining the way and filling the doors and windows along the line of his funeral train, and Andrew Jackson and General Lafayette stood by with uncovered heads when his body was lowered into the grave.

In the senate of the United States a tribute was paid to this Choctaw chieftain by the celebrated John Randolph, who said:

Sir, in a late visit to the public grave-yard, my attention was arrested by the simple monument of the Choctaw chief, Pushmataha. He was, I have been told by those who knew him, one of nature's nobility; a man who would have adorned any society. He lies quietly by the side of our statesmen and high magistrates in the region—for there is one such—where the red man and the white man are on a level. On the sides of the plain shaft that marks his place of burial, I read these words: 'Pushmataha, a Choctaw chief, lies here. This monument to his memory is erected by his brother chiefs, who were associated with him in a delegation from their nation in the year 1824, to the Government of the United States. Pushmataha was a warrior of great distinction. He was wise in council, eloquent in an extraordinary degree; and on all occasions, and under all circumstances, the white man's friend. He died in Washington, on the 24th day of December, 1824, of the croup, in the sixtieth year of his age.'

Claiborne said of him, speaking of his funeral nearly ninety-seven years ago:

The remains of Pushmataha were committed to the earth in the Congress burying ground amid the roar of artillery and the music of muffled drums, and his last words were engraved upon his tomb. Thus closed the career of one who in civilized life would have adorned the senate and been regarded by posterity as we now regard the heroes of antiquity; a man of the noblest attributes, who had it in his power to depopulate our territories, but whose arm was always extended for the protection of the whites.

Adam Byrd was right. Pushmataha was by long odds the greatest Indian who ever lived. In every battle and every

war in which he took part he was victorious. He always held the interests of the Indians and their various tribes above his personal interests. He used his efforts to keep them from war, and that they might become intelligent, useful American citizens.

We of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin and Minnesota are as deeply indebted to him for his opposition to Tecumseh and his confederacy as are the states of Alabama, Mississippi and Oklahoma. His efforts were not local in their effect, but extended to the entire government, and we Americans should let honor fall where honor belongs; and as between Tecumseh, the Shawnee chieftain and brigadier-general in the British army, and Pushmataha, the Choctaw chieftain and brigadier-general in the American army, Tecumseh giving his service and his life to the British and for them, Pushmataha giving his life to the United States of America, and for it, after the passing of more than a century of years since these chieftains lived and warred, we should extol the virtues of this worthy chieftain in all the states of our union.

Pioneer Life In Boone County

Written by JANE GREGORY STEVENSON, 1900, Aged 68

My Grandfather Gregory was born and raised in Scotland. He, with two brothers, came to America a few years before the War of the Revolution. Their names were Moses, my grandfather, Jeremiah, and Stephen. They settled and married somewhere in Connecticut. When the war broke out, he like many others, thought it a great crime to rebel against the king, but never took up arms on either side.

When the war was over, he with others was banished to Newfoundland, at St. Johns, and there my father, Peter Gregory was born, August 18th, 1789. After the limit of banishment was over, my grandfather and family returned to the United States and settled in the state of New York. He lived to see his mistake and raised his boys to be true, loyal citizens to the new government. They all voted the Whig ticket. He lived and held on true to his faith in his Savior to the day of his death, which occurred in January, 1822. My Grandmother Gregory died about the same time, only three days difference in their deaths. I do not know much of her history.

Our mother's maiden name was Phoebe Carroll. She was the youngest daughter of William and Phoebe Carroll. Our grandmother's maiden name was Phoebe Wortman. She was the daughter of a German doctor. She was born in New Jersey; from there she came with her parents to the state of Pennsylvania, where she was married to our grandfather, William Carroll. He was a Revolutionary soldier, fought both on land and sea, and part of the time directly under Washington. He was in the service seven years and was never wounded.

Our mother was born in Lycoming county, Pennsylvania, January 8th, 1801, and when quite young removed with her parents to the state of New York, Allegany county. There at the age of twenty she was married to our father, Peter Gregory, aged thirty-two. To this union were born twelve children, three of whom died in infancy. The other nine lived to maturity. One daughter, Mary A. Gregory, died at the age of nineteen and is buried in Eagle Village ceme-

tery, the family burial place. Eight children lived to rear families. Their names are James, Benjamin M., Lorena, Mary A., Jane, William Lewis, John P., Emily, Martha A.

I was the fifth child, born in the state of New York, Allegany county, December 5th, 1831. I came with my parents to this state (Indiana) in the spring of 1834. We came all the way in a two-horse wagon; were six weeks on the road. James, the oldest, was eleven, and Lewis, the youngest, six months old. We first settled in Marion county, ten miles north of Indianapolis, which was then a mere village. The foundation of the first state house was just laid.

About a year later my father bought a farm in the southeast corner of Boone county, to which they soon moved. The family was there raised, until like birds in the nest they had to scatter and flutter away, some to distant lands, some to the tomb. The same farm is now owned by the heirs of my brother, B. M. Gregory, who died July 16, 1899.

When my father moved to this farm there were only about fifteen acres of cleared land and a log cabin made of round logs, the cracks chinked and daubed with clay mortar. It had a chimney made of blocks of wood about four feet long, and at the top finished up with small sticks and daubed well inside with clay mortar. About four feet from the fire was a pole, called the lug pole, to which were attached two or three chains, with hooks on which to hang cooking vessels. My mother made great pots of hominy and hung them on these chains to cook.

The next year my father built another room, with a space of about ten feet from the former one. It was larger than the old one and built of hewed logs. It was a story and a half high, with a ladder to go upstairs in the space between the two rooms. This entry was enclosed at the west end. On the east side of the house, which fronted the Michigan road, was a big porch the whole length of the houses. The roof was made of clapboards about four feet long, nailed on nicely. There was a brick chimney and two good-sized windows. The old house was also covered with clapboards, held down with weight poles. The weight poles were long, heavy poles laid across the boards, and a square block about two feet long laid between, and so on until the top was reached. The old house had only one small window and a puncheon floor, which

was a big log split in two or three pieces and hewed off with an axe or adz; perhaps only an axe as tools were scarce in those early days. The house stood back from the road perhaps five or six rods, on a hill sloping toward the road.

At the foot of the hill was a spring from which we used water for several years. The spring was walled up with big flat rocks, and we had a milk house built near it so the cool water passed through it all the time. From the spring ran a brook which crossed the path to the big road, over which was built a good plank bridge. The spring was shaded by beautiful walnut, willow and locust trees. Below the bridge was a large calamus patch, which was always a delight to the children.

In those early days the furniture was as rude as the houses. My father made his own bedsteads. The beds were held up with ropes made for the purpose. Holes were bored through the bed rails and the ropes stretched across each way very tightly. With a straw and feather bed on top it made a very good bed to rest on. Chairs, if any, were splint bottom, and some had only stools.

Our home was located about one-fourth of a mile south of a little village called Eagle Village, with only a few houses and a postoffice. After a few years people of various trades moved in, and also a dry goods store. We then could get a great many things in the furniture line we did not have before. I remember distinctly a set of chairs my father had made by a man by the name of Bailey. They were splint bottomed chairs painted green, and the backs curved a little. We also got better bedsteads. Everything was paid for in some kind of trade, there being no home market for anything, and Indianapolis was yet too small to afford much market. I have taken eggs to our village store and only got three cents per dozen.

When my parents first came here there were no grain mills closer than Indianapolis or Broad Ripple, ten miles away. But it was not long till there were mills much closer, as Eagle Creek afforded many good locations for mills. About the year 1839 a Mr. George Dye built a grain and saw mill on Eagle Creek one mile west of our place and a quarter of a mile east of where Zionsville now stands. It was built at the

bend of the creek. It was a great blessing to our neighborhood.

Everything at that date was in a rude and primitive condition. It had only been five years since the Michigan or State road had been surveyed and cut out, and of course was very rough and imperfect. I well remember the great log heaps left by the workmen in many places along the road on either side, especially where the land was low and marshy. In the spring the frogs could be heard for miles around those marshy places, and the forest trees on either side of the road looked like great walls of nature's own make. But this under the sway of the white man's axe rapidly passed away and gave room to the broad fields of waving grain. The road was then a hundred feet wide. The streams of any size were all bridged by the government with good wooden bridges, but no fine iron ones like we see now. In winter time the roads became impassible, except on horseback or afoot.

The mail for several years was carried on horseback, but there being so few people and postage so high, there was very little writing done. I heard my mother say that when they first came here they had to pay twenty-five cents postage for a letter from their home country, but they gave it as freely as they would for food, so great was their anxiety to hear from their native home and loved ones left behind. Later on in summer when roads were good the mail was carried in the stage coach, drawn by four horses. In winter when roads were bad it was carried in a big wagon prepared for the bad roads and was called the mud wagon. The stage coach was quite a nice affair. It was large and strong, fixed on a swing so it would rock back and forth by the motion of the carriage, and was large enough for nine persons to sit in comfortably, and sometimes there would be one or two outside by the driver. The baggage was strapped on behind and sometimes thrown on top. The driver had a very long horn which he would blow when approaching any stopping place. The coach was always full of passengers. It used to be said there was always room for one more. They changed horses about every twenty miles and always went on a fast trot.

Public houses were plenty in those days, perhaps only one or two miles apart along the Michigan road, and were

called taverns. All had plenty of custom, so great was emigration. About the year 1836 or 1837 a family by the name of Larimore came to our village and built a tavern which was said to be the best and most commodious house between Indianapolis and Logansport. Mr. Henry Nicholas, of Northfield, was the contracting carpenter. It was a frame building two stories high, and had a cupola and bell on top.

The bell was a great attraction to children, as it was the only bell they had ever heard, there being no school houses or churches with bells as we have nowadays. When the bell was ringing, I remember the older children told us it said, "pig-tail done! pigtail done!" which we verily believed. The same bell is now on the old home place, owned by the grandson of my father, Peter Gregory, and Larimore, Frank Gregory.

Schoolhouses were scarce and most of them built of logs, like the dwelling houses, with a big fireplace in one end which the pupils sat around. And while their faces would burn their backs would chill. In many places the schoolhouse answered for both school and church. They also often held religious services at private houses.

The roads being so bad, the mode of travel, besides the coaches, was by horseback, or afoot, especially in winter. It was no uncommon sight to see two or three men passing along with their knapsacks on their backs. Nobody thought of calling them tramps as they do now. I remember once a cousin from Michigan visiting us, who came all the way afoot. It was in March. He stayed about three weeks and brother James went home with him the same way.

In the fall when the roads were good, emigration was so great that covered wagons might be seen almost any time you might look out. My mother was an expert at making cheese and she always kept light bread baked and a little sign out, "Bread and Cheese," by which she sold a great deal to the passers-by and thus kept herself in pocket change. It was a common remark, "There lives a Yankee woman, she knows how to make good cheese." She also sold a great deal to our village people, especially to the tavern.

As the country was sparsely settled, schools were scarce and teachers were ignorant and poorly qualified for their business. I remember they were required to teach Reading, Spelling, Writing, and Arithmetic as far as the rule of three.

Those qualifications were written in an article of agreement, with the number of days to be taught and the price per scholar. Sometimes they would state what kind of pay they would receive; if married they would take some kind of produce or dry goods and groceries, etc.

I well remember the first school I attended. It was at Eagle Village in a log house which had formerly been a dwelling. The seats were benches, without any backs and sometimes too high for the children's feet to touch the floor; no desk in front to lean upon. They bored holes in the walls in which they put long, strong pins and placed a wide board on those pins, thus forming a writing desk. In front was a bench to sit on, and while writing their backs were to the teacher.

Our teacher was an old gray-headed man by the name of Boman. He was also a Methodist preacher. He would let the pupils all study aloud, and when they studied their spelling lessons they could be heard for a long distance. I remember very distinctly sitting by a girl by the name of Mary Beard, much larger than myself. How much I was interested in hearing her repeat the alphabet! She would say, "big A, little a, big B, little b," and so on to the end of the alphabet, until she attracted the attention of the teacher, when he began to mimic her. She looked much ashamed and then turned to her own lesson. I thought she was doing the right thing and that she was a very wise girl to know all the alphabet, and I didn't know any of it. And this was a sample of the schools and teacher we had for several years.

A few years later an eastern man by the name of William Farlin came to our neighborhood, who was much in advance of the former teachers. He first taught about a half a mile west of where Zionsville now stands, and my older brothers and sisters went there all one winter and would almost freeze sometimes. It was near two miles from home. I went there to summer schools. At one time it rained too hard for us to go home and we scattered around among the children. I remember I and my older sister went home with some little girls by the name of Rodman, all of whom have long since passed on. I well remember how glad I was to get to go home with those little girls and what a jolly time we had wading the branch that ran close by their house. We had

to cross Eagle Creek going to and from school, and sometimes it got very high and dangerous to cross. Mr. Farlin looked after us rainy times, that we crossed the creek safely. He afterwards moved to Eagle Village and was our teacher for several years.

Up to this date, 1841, all kinds or any kind of book that the parents happened to have were used. Webster's Elementary Spelling Book was used for beginners for both spelling and reading. Mr. Farlin first introduced a series of reading books called Worcester's Readers. We used Webster's Speller, Kirkham's Grammar, Fowler and Smiley's Arithmetic, and Olney's Geography. About the year 1848 McGuffey's series were introduced, and Mitchell's Geography, Butler's Grammar, and Ray's Arithmetic. Since that time many changes have been made.

The school government was then so different too. The teacher was termed the master, and as such he posed, and generally kept two or three gads standing in the corner. Mr. Farlin first taught he was the teacher and not the master. He also taught strict obedience.

I will now tell you of the rise and fall of our village. Our village which first consisted of only a few log houses and the postoffice soon increased in both population and business, until it became a thriving little town. We had two taverns, one Odd Fellow's hall, two churches, a good schoolhouse, three drygoods stores, one or two shoeshops, two blacksmith shops, several carpenter shops, one tanyard, one sadlery, and other works of industry. Two doctors, and last but not least, a salaratus factory. Salaratus was an alkali used as we now use soda. It was hard and lumpy and had to be pulverized and dissolved in water before using.

About the year 1846 a man by the name of James Armstrong came to our village and tried to run a salaratus factory; but he knew better how to whip his wife than to make salaratus. The citizens got tired of his wife-whipping and thought to put a stop to it. They collected together one night and managed to get him out, when he discovered their intentions and became badly frightened and begged piteously. They said his hair stood straight on his head. His wife finally came to his rescue. She was Dutch, and talked very broken. She said, "Ments, if there be any ments among you, go to your

homps, if you have any homps. Jamps is a gude and kint husband. He directs me to the Bible in all I does." So of course they went to their homes and left them to fight it out, but I don't think there was any more wife beating done while they lived there.

About the year 1849 a Mr. Gardner came to our village and succeeded Mr. Armstrong in making salaratus. He was from Buffalo, N. Y. He understood his busines and carried it on successfully for several years, was a good citizen and had a nice family.

About the year 1852 our present railroad known as the Big Four was built from Indianapolis to Lafayette, and later, on to Chicago, and Zionsville was laid out. As everybody wanted to go to the new railroad town, the glory of our much loved village soon departed. The two taverns and churches were moved to Zionsville, and also many of the dwelling houses. The ground on which they stood is now in cultivated gardens.

Our parents, like all pioneers, had to work very hard and taught their children to be industrious; but with all their hardships and privations people enjoyed life then as much as they do now with all their luxuries. They were always ready to lend a helping hand when needed and always ready to divide any luxury they might chance to have, with their near neighbors. They would often go and spend an evening with some neighbor and always take supper; and in turn, they would come to our house and spend the evening and take supper; and thus they passed their long winter evenings. I have known my parents to go three miles in a sled in the afternoon and stay till ten o'clock and then return.

Everybody had to wear homemade clothes, and you may be assured they did not wear out soon either. They would spin the wool in summer to make clothes for winter, and spin flax in winter to make clothes for summer. My older sister could always beat me spinning wool. She could spin sixteen cuts a day, while I never could spin but twelve cuts; but I could always keep even with her spinning flax or weaving.

The people had gatherings of different kinds. The men had log-rollings, wood-choppings and corn-huskings. The women had quiltings, apple-cuttings, and wool-pickings. Of course the opposite sex were invited and they enjoyed a gala

day. The ladies of the village always considered it a great treat to go to Mrs. Gregory's wool-pickings.

It required a great deal of work to get the wool ready for the weaver. It was shorn from the sheep sometime in May, then washed and picked by hand, then sent to the carding mill which was then at Indianapolis, fourteen miles away. After carding into rolls, the process of spinning commenced. When that was done, the yarn had to be all washed clean, then colored some color. For jeans, either blue or brown. The brown was colored with walnut hulls. For dresses they used green, red, and blue, and we thought we had very pretty dresses. Later on a man by the name of Lyons came to our vicinity and built a carding mill a mile north of the village, but he did very poor work. He was succeeded by a Mr. Liebhardt, who understood his business and did good work in carding, spinning, and weaving. The same mill is now owned by his son, D. E. Liebhardt, who carries on his business very successfully and keeps pace with the times.

My father always kept a yoke of oxen and a cart. He sold a great deal of wood to the village people and thus paid for store goods, shoe making, blacksmithing, etc. The oxen were so well trained that when he wanted to yoke them, he would put the yoke on the off ox first, then with the bow in his hand would motion to the other ox, calling him by name, and he would obediently walk under the yoke, and that was all the harness they wore. The tongue of the cart was fastened to the yoke. The cart bed was fastened by a pivot or hinge in the middle of the bed and when he wanted to unload the cart, all he had to do was to unhook the cart bed from the tongue of the cart, when the bed would drop back and the load would all go out at once.

My father's barn, like the house, was made of logs. It had two apartments with a space between, about twelve feet. This space had a good plank floor, made tight. There they threshed their wheat and oats. This was done in winter, when cold and dry. My father always threshed his grain with flails. Flails were two long sticks with the ends tied together with strong cord or rope. One would stand at each end and pound away all day. How would men like that way of threshing wheat now?

It was not much trouble to cook for the hands, as there

were only two of them. Then it all had to be run through a wind mill. They did not often sow over five acres, as that made enough for their bread. At a very early day the reap hook was used, but as far back as I can remember the cradle was used.

I well remember the first threshing machine I ever saw. It was in the year 1847. It was built on a wagon, and was arranged so the motion of the wagon caused the machinery to work. They drove in a circle and the straw dropped off while the wheat was caught in a large box below, which had to be emptied about every round. Then it all had to be run through a fanning mill. Later on they got the stationary machines, run by horse power, which both threshed and winnowed it.

We always raised a patch of flax; about a half acre, sometimes more. It was a great deal of work to take care of. It had to be all pulled up by the roots. Every child that had strength enough was mustered in the service. Then the seed was threshed off and it was spread out in some grassy spot to rot, which required about four weeks. Then it was taken up and put in a dry place, ready for the flax break. After it was well broken it had to be dressed; that is, the woody part had to be beaten off. This was done by holding the bundle, or as much as a man could hold in his hand, across an upright board, prepared for the purpose, and beating with a wooden knife, made of some kind of hard wood, generally hickory. It had to be beaten till all the woody part was gone, nothing left but the fibre. Then it was finished by the hackle, ready for spinning. The hackle was made of smooth teeth about four inches long and about as large around as an eight-penny nail. They were set in a board about six inches square and about two feet long, to make it convenient to hold between the knees. The flax was drawn through this hackle till it was all combed out nice and smooth, when it was ready for the spinning wheel. The fibre that was combed out was called tow, and was sometimes spun to make towels, bed-ticks, etc. The tow was also in great demand by the hunters, as they used it for wadding in their guns. No hunter thought of starting out without his pocket full of tow.

One may think that people did not have much time for sport, but the young folks always watched their chances and occasionally took a day off for some kind of amusement. The

boys too were on the lookout for a day to hunt or fish. Wild game was plentiful. Such as deer, turkey, squirrel, coon, groundhogs and many other kinds. There was no end to the fish in Eagle Creek. Fishing was their chief amusement. I remember at one time my two brothers, Benjamin and Lewis, went fishing late in the afternoon. They had permission to stay a while after dark, as the fish bite much better then, which they accordingly did. When they got ready to start for home, after they had gone a short distance, their light, which was hickory bark torch, went out, and the night being very dark and misting rain, they soon lost their way. After wandering around awhile, they became discouraged and sat down in despair by a big oak tree, thinking they would have to stay there all night, when to their joy they saw a light coming in the distance, which proved to be a man with a lantern, on his way home from the village. They called to him and he readily went to them and took them home, to the great joy of our parents who were becoming very anxious about them. At another time when they went fishing, they were caught in a windstorm while passing through a deadening and narrowly escaped being killed by falling timber.

We also used to go root-digging, as there was ready sale for various kinds of roots, which were used for medical purposes. Such as yellow root, snake root, lady slipper, ginseng, and many other kinds. We dug the roots in the autumn. The woods would sometimes be full of women and children in pursuit of these roots.

I remember on one occasion, myself and two brothers, Benjamin and Lewis, went one afternoon to dig roots. After hunting and playing around, our dog ran onto a blacksnake. I wanted to run and leave Mister Snake to his freedom, but the boys and the dog were determined to kill him, which they did after quite a combat. As we thought it quite a trophy to show at home, the boys tied a string around its neck and started, as we thought, for home. But after wandering around a while we found that we were lost. The woods then was a dense forest. Finally off at a distance we saw a clearing to which we went and found a house, gladly dropping our snake in the forest, to learn our way home. We knew the family that lived there and they put us on the right road home, which was two miles away.

At that time orchards were scarce and apples hard to get. Sometimes a teamster would pass with apples to sell. They came from some of the southern counties, which were settled much earlier than our county, Boone. They always had an apple on a stick at the front end of the wagon for a sign. Mother bought some occasionally, but father soon set out an orchard and in a few years we had apples in abundance. Wild fruit was plentiful, such as blackberries, much larger than we see now, plums, grapes, and crabapples. Mother always kept preserves of some kind, nearly always crabapple preserves. She dried blackberries and wild grapes, as that was all the way they knew for keeping fruit at that time. She also made a good deal of pumpkin butter and dried pumpkin for pies. We always made our own sugar and molasses from the sugar maples. Sugar making was a great treat to us children, after being housed up with a cold winter.

I have told you something of our hardships, privations, pleasures and amusements of our early pioneer life. Now comes a more serious chapter. We worked on as I have told you through rough and smooth, till the spring of 1847, when our father died with pneumonia. He was sick only three days, took his bed Wednesday and died Friday at eleven o'clock. Sister Martha was then a little past two years old and three others less than thirteen, so you can see our mother had a great burden to bear. My brother James, then about twenty-four years of age, stayed at home and settled up the business. He got permission of the court to sell some of the property at private sale, and paid off what debts there were, and the farm was left undivided till the children were all of age, and thus our mother was enabled to keep her home and also keep her family together and have for them a comfortable living. We had all learned the value of industry and economy and thus could help one another.

The second year after my father's death, Brother Benjamin took charge of the farm, and was more like a father than a brother. He was always kind and thoughtful. Mother still kept up her dairy business and thus succeeded in rearing her children. Her greatest ambition was to raise her children to be good and useful citizens, and she lived to see her prayers and efforts rewarded, as they were all well situated and respected, and had good homes of their own before she died.

She died December 3rd, 1872, at the age of seventy-one. She joined the Baptist church at the age of seventeen and remained a faithful member until her death. And through her prayerful life and patience in afflictions she has gained the reward that awaits the righteous, and passed through the Pearly Gates beyond the River.

My father was also a member of the Baptist church, in politics a Whig. When quite a young man he was under conviction and joined the Baptist church, and was making preparations to be baptized, when his father (our grandfather), who was one of those most devout Scotch Methodists and would often stop by the wayside to pray, wishing to lead his children in his own faith, and being decidedly opposed to baptism by immersion, said to him, "Peter, think well before you take the step." At this remark my father hesitated and became discouraged and remained out of the church until about three years before his death. He was very industrious and would often work on the Sabbath, but never required it of his children.

One Sunday morning as was his custom, he took his axe on his shoulder and started for his clearing. His way led past the garden, and while passing he heard the voice of prayer, and looking over among the currant bushes, he saw his young daughter Mary, on her knees in her morning devotions. That smote his conscience, so he went back, laid down his axe, and kept the Sabbath. The conviction never left him and some time during that year he united with the Baptist church. Thus by the prayers of his child was he led back to the Saviour.

Notwithstanding the hardships of pioneer life, we all managed to get a moderately good education for the times. James, my oldest brother, commenced teaching when about twenty years of age, and was a very successful teacher for several years. Then he studied medicine and made quite a success in the medical profession. Mary, my oldest sister, taught two terms of school, when failing health prevented further work, and she died at the age of nineteen, in the year 1845. Brother Benjamin taught several schools. Sister Martha also taught for several years. She taught one school year in Indianapolis.

At the age of seventeen I taught my first school at Eagle

Village. I taught by subscription, received \$1.25 per scholar. I afterward taught a good many schools, some by subscription and some for public money. I never received over a dollar a day for teaching a public school, and when by subscription \$2.50 per scholar for a term of sixty-five days. In early days the teacher had to make pens for the pupils out of goose quills. It was quite an accomplishment to be a good pen-maker and good writer. Sometime before I quit teaching, the steel pen was used, which was a great relief to teachers.

My teaching was mostly summer work. I would commence about the first of April and close the last of June. I continued teaching till the fall of 1861, when I was married, September 26th. To this union were born five children, three boys and two girls. My girls died at the age of twenty-two each. God who overrules all has received them, and I must not murmur or repine over my lot. I know that I have much for which to be thankful, and leave these few pages for you to look over and when you think your lot hard, think of the blessings you enjoy and the many good things you have which at your age your ancestors never heard of.

I have now nearly reached my three score years and ten. I have seen our beloved country in its natural state of wildness and beauty as God's handiwork. He has given us a very beautiful world to live in, but few of us appreciate it as we should, and like the Children of Israel of old, are disposed to continually murmur and find fault and fear we will not have enough of this world's goods. But in all these long years we have never passed through one in which we did not have enough of our needs.

I have lived to see our beloved country bud and blossom as the rose. The pioneer cabin has passed away and in its place stand good frame or brick buildings, some almost stately mansions. I have also seen the mud and corduroy roads of previous years turned into nice, solid, gravel roads, and the streams all spanned by good iron bridges. By our present mode of travel we can go hundreds of miles in a few hours, when by the old mode described in the beginning of this sketch it would require as many days, and perhaps more. Our daily mail is now delivered at our gate. Our ancestors thought it a great blessing to get mail twice a week.

We are told in God's word, "Trust in the Lord and do good

and verily thou shalt be fed." I now leave you this little narrative, hoping God will bless you all, and that we may all meet around His Great White Throne, and there be crowned heirs of His Kingdom.

Pioneer Stories of the Calumet

By J. WILLIAM LESTER, Historical Secretary, Lake County Old Settlers' and Historical Society

After years of neglect, the "ugly duckling" of the Calumet and Kankakee swamp region has come into its own; Lake county finally has gained a place in the foremost ranks of progressive counties of Indiana.

Over a century had elapsed since the first military stations had been established on the present sites of Vincennes and Ft. Wayne; the State Historical society, with headquarters at Indianapolis, was starting on its career; and the population of the State had reached the third-of-a-million mark, when the first permanent white settler, following the old Pottowatomie trail through the wilderness, selected a spot on the banks of Deep river for his future home.

During the following year, 1834, Solon Robinson and others settled at what is now Crown Point; and three years later, when the county was regularly organized, there were still but few inhabitants.

Now that the rivers have been dredged, the swamps drained, and the dunes converted into popular natural parks, early settlers, and they are numerous throughout the country, vie with one another in relating their experience of early days, and their observations of remarkable changes wrought within their memory. A number of their stories are given herein.

MRS. ELINOR PHILLIPS
(Recorded July, 1922)

I was born in Green county, York state, ninety years ago the 28th day of last March. My father was a carpenter and a jack of all trades, and he came west to work. I was probably about three years old when we started for Chicago. We came by boat as there were no railroads. We went from Chicago to Michigan City and were there probably two or three years. Then in 1835 or '36 we came to Lake county. We started with ox teams for Illinois, and followed the old Sauk trail, now called the Lincoln Highway, but the roads were so

bad that the oxen got mired, and we stopped at the prairie about two miles southwest of Merrillville. Then we built a log cabin up in the woods.

The first land cost ten shillings an acre. When my father made his first claim he got 150 acres; afterwards he got other claims until we got about 500 acres altogether.

We had plenty of wild berries, and we used salt meat, game and corn-bread. We used to take wheat, fan and clean it, then cook it the way you do breakfast food now, and it made a good dish. We had to do the best we could. At first we had no lights but a twisted rag that we burned in a dish of oil. I helped my mother dip candles lots of times. We would heat the tallow and put it into some water then dip the wick up and down until it got as big as we wanted it.

In them days we had a loom and would spin the wool. We had to take our wool way down to LaPorte, and they carded it at the mill, then we brought it back and wove it. I have sold more yarn than you could shake a stick at.

I have seen piles of Indians. They camped out near our home—the old log house where Rush is, on the Erie railroad. They came to the house begging for things to eat. They traded venison for pork and salt meat, and we gave them iron kettles, potatoes and meal. Sometimes we would get leggings and other things trimmed in beads. I often saw the women carrying babies on their back. We used to be afraid of them, and when they came to the house we got where mother was, but they never hurt us. We were glad when they went away.

There was lots of game, and when there was snow on the ground my brothers would go to the prairie this side of Crown Point to hunt deer. My oldest brother would put a sheet or something white over his head; the other would go up on a high hill near the prairie and make a lot of noise, then when the deer came near enough my oldest brother would shoot them. They killed lots of deer every winter.

I went to school about three different terms when I was fifteen or sixteen years old. There was a private school where the Nicholson farm is. David Fowler owned the land, and they put three log houses together and made a school house. We had no church, but I went to Sunday school at Butts' in their log house.

There were hardly any white people around here—Balls lived about a mile and a half southwest of Merrillville, and there were a few scattered settlers. We used to get together and have husking bees. The old settlers would cut their corn and set it up, then call on their neighbors to help husk it. They would serve cider and a cup of tea, and sometimes Johnnie-cake pancakes. I tell you honestly I believe people enjoyed themselves better in them days than they do now. When the old settlers were together one was as good as the other and people took a good deal of comfort with you.

My father could make most anything. He was a builder and a shoemaker, and I was married in the shoes he made. My two sons are living here with me. Edwin, the oldest, will be 73 on October 23d. I help them to keep house, and don't get away very much, but I like to attend the old settlers' meetings. I used to go to Chicago with father when he drove over with his oxen to sell grain, but I ain't been there for a long time—not since the World's Fair.

ALFRED ANDERSON
(Recorded August 12, 1922)

I am the oldest living pioneer of Miller. I was born in Providence, Rhode Island, on the 8th of November, 1855. I was two years old when we moved to Hobart; and we came here to Miller in the fall of 1864. We moved with an ox team and wagon, and we had all our belongings in one load. We started about ten o'clock in the forenoon and got here about sundown. There was only one bridge across the marsh between Tolleston and Baillytown and we came over at Dock Siding, which is about three miles east of here.

There wasn't a house in Miller, with the exception of a boarding house, that the Lake Shore railroad was building, and a little frame cottage a fellow by the name of Alby was building. The cottage is still standing today and it is the only one of the old buildings left. It stands east of the jail and right back of it. A fellow by the name of Green bought it and shortly after sold it to Augusta Anderson. John Long had a shanty and ran a saloon; Jim Tansy lived in a dugout in the sand hills, and Quinn lived in a box car. Both Tansy and Quinn worked on the section. John Carleston went up

and stayed in the hills. Peter Anderson came in the winter of the same year that we came.

Father was a contractor, and we moved here to take up the timber for the Lake Shore railroad, the only road that ran through here then. There were no coal-burners in them days. He took out 4,000 cars of four-foot wood. We didn't expect to stay, but just as father decided to go he noticed that there was an awful lot of long white moss growing on the marsh south of the railroad. It was used to wrap around trees for shipping. They raked it up with potato hooks and shipped some to a man named Hicks, at Dayton, Ohio, some to Bloomington, Illinois, and some as far as Florida. He must have taken up at least 500 car loads. We pressed and crated it. He got \$50 a carload, \$3 a crate, \$2 a barrel, and 25 cents a sack for it. A crate would weigh about 175 pounds. When we got into good patches we could get a carload a day, but sometimes we could only get a carload in four or five days. Father was at that thirteen or fourteen years. The moss grew along the edge of the banks and extended out into the water. I have seen it grow ten inches long. We found it as far east as Baillytown. It takes seven years before it grows back again. You would have to hunt to find any now, but I believe I could find you some.

We had an awful lot of cattle and I have traveled as far as Pine Station to Baillytown gathering them up. I got my first gun when I was thirteen years old; my father bought me a double-barrel shot gun. I hunted, trapped and fished a good deal. There was lots of game—wolf, fox, deer, wild turkeys and pigeons. I have shot pigeons until we were sick of them. I saw flights that would last for three hours. And ducks; there was all kinds of ducks! Wolves were thick. Their runaway was along the ridge just east of there where you go under the C. I. & S. tracks. I have seen as many as twenty in a drove. They were smaller than the timber wolf but larger than the prairie wolf, and seemed to be a cross between them. When I was about fifteen years of age I was corralled by wolves between the Grand Calumet river and the lake. It was about nine o'clock in the evening. I had my hunting dog, a mixed bird and shepherd. He would round up game and bring it to me. I was in a little hollow, standing among a bunch of jack pines, and had a little squirrel

rifle. The dog tracked the wolves and brought the whole flock up to me. I was scared, but shot one, and the rest turned tail and fled. The next day I was out on the south side of the river, and about a mile north of where Aetna is, when the dog went down into a hollow and raised a wolf that had been among the vines. I shot the wolf in the hip and it jumped into the river and swam across with the dog right after him, but he didn't get far for the dog got him as he was climbing the opposite bank. We didn't bother with a gun to hunt rabbits, for there would be as many as three rabbits at a time in a hollow log, and all we had to do was to plug up one end of the log and take them out.

I was coming home one night with a drove of cattle and as they were walking along the edge of the slough right east of Peterson's Crossing I saw about fifty mallards. I had a small shot gun and sneaked around and killed eight with one shot.

There were quite a few Indians. They came down from Michigan and were here every fall for about four years after we came. They belonged to the same tribe as old lady Howe. They used to camp in the woods about a half mile north of Baillytown, at the south edge of the dunes. The first Indians I saw was one day when father was cutting wood in front of our log shanty. It was about a block northeast of where the Lake Shore depot is. He was chopping away when all at once four Indians came up. They were all blanket Indians. One of them wanted a chew of tobacco. In them days we had nothing but navy plug that came in long pieces. Father had taken a chew off of his plug. He handed it to the buck, and the fellow pulled out his hunting knife, cut two-thirds of the plug off, stuck it in his pocket and handed the rest back. That made the old gent mad, so he says to him: "If you are that hungry for tobacco take the other piece, but never come here again." The buck took it and only grunted, as they always do, and then they left. The next day they came back and wanted something to eat, so mother gave them some bread, pork and two crocks of milk. They took it but never said "Thank you." They came again the day after and wanted more to eat. Some were in the doorway and some were right inside, but she took the broom and chased them all out. She said: "Go to work! That's the way my husband has to do."

They never came back to the house, but we saw them often in the woods. They used to hunt as far as Whiting, and if they were overtaken at night they would strike camp anywhere. They would build a fire, roll up in their blankets and lay out in the open. They camped all along the dunes. The men used rifles and shot guns for hunting, but the young boys had bows and arrows. I remember between here and Baillytown the Lake Shore road had a siding about four miles east of Miller, and the Indian boys there would shoot the lights out of the cabooses. The Indians disappeared from here about 1869.

The only bear I ever saw was a small black one. That was when I was about fifteen. A boy by the name of Andrew Wall, of Hobart, was visiting us, and we went out to get wild grapes for wine. We were in the hills about a mile and a half west of Miller and had climbed up in a big jack pine. We heard a noise down in the hollow and then we saw him coming right towards the tree we were in. We got down in a hurry and hiked for the beach. I don't know how far he followed us, but we never saw him after that. In 1865 a half-breed, French and Indian, named Allen Dutcher shot a black bear right down close to the river, just about a half a mile from where the Grand Calumet bridge is, and on this side of the river. I have heard of wildcat, panther and lynx here but never saw any, and don't believe there were any after we came.

Our first school was in 1867, when a German by the name of Osterman came here from the head of Long lake, Porter county, and built a five-room house, with a saloon on one side and a school on the other. Mrs. Davis, from Michigan, was our first teacher. Her husband was captain of a boat on the lake. Sometimes when we were in school thirty or forty wood-choppers would come to the saloon and start a fight. We could hear them bumping against the walls, then the teacher would tell us all to get out and go home.

There was all kinds of timber and lots of big trees. I have seen pines up to 35 inches through. It was cut down and sold to the farmers or shipped out. John Charleston, Pete Peterson and a fellow named Bergstrom, were lumber contractors, and there was a big sawmill about three miles

east of here. It burned down about forty-two years ago. There was another one at Chesterton called the Blackwell mill.

I started to fish with my father when he got his first seine. It was a forty-rod seine. A fellow from Hobart had a 106-rod seine, and I saw him when he got over 6,000 pounds of white fish in one haul. He got over a hundred sturgeon, and one weighed 180 pounds. It was the largest fish I ever saw caught in the lake. The best price we could get for fish was one cent a pound, and we were glad to get rid of them for that.

Alfred Anderson, son of Magnes Anderson, is a carpenter and stationary engineer; he now builds cabs for locomotives. He was married to Anna F. Norstrom, of Sweden. Their children are: Walter, Harriet, Arthur, Frances, Cora, and Florence. Mr. Anderson resides in a picturesque hollow among the dunes west of Lake avenue.

POTTAWATOMIE TRAILS OF LAKE COUNTY

By ARTHUR E. PATTERSON

During the early part of our settlement at Lake Station, a small band of Pottawatomie Indians paid semi-annual visits to their burying grounds on the old Stockwell and Buddle places, only a short distance from where now stands the East Gary town hall. I soon got to know them, especially Pokagon. I remember his telling Mrs. Evenson, Mrs. Hurley and myself of the famous Pottawatomie trail coming from the east and northeast, passing through Buchanan, Michigan, striking LaPorte county near New Carlisle, then running in a southwesterly direction through LaPorte, Chesterton, Baillytown and Crisman to old Lake Station, a division point where there were workshops and dancing and burial grounds.

From this division, or terminal point, two trails led westerly. One crossed the Little Calumet river at Wolf's farm, passing through Aetna and Miller, until it reached the Grand Calumet, which it crossed, then ran in a westerly direction, zigzagging between the lake and the river until it reached Ft. Dearborn. The other trail proceeded through the town of Liverpool, where there was a noted dancing ground, crossed Deep river at this place and ran to Wiggins Point (now Merrillville). Two trails led from Wiggins' Point: one passed through the sites of Schererville and Dyer and crossed the state line and the other passed through Crown Point to Cedar

Lake and entered Will county, Illinois, a short distance north of the Will and Kankakee county line.

The Indian who visited Lake Station, and from whom the writer received the information concerning the trails, was Simon Pokagon, chief of the tribe which long occupied the region around the southern and eastern shores of Lake Michigan. At the age of fourteen he began the study of English, which he successfully mastered. Possibly no full blooded Indian ever acquired a more thorough knowledge of the English language. It seems proper at this moment to mention that in 1897 he wrote an article for a New York magazine on *The Future of the Red Man*, in which he said:

Oft in the stillness of the night, when all Nature seems asleep about me, there comes a gentle rapping at the door of my heart. I open it, and a voice inquires, 'Pokagon, what of your people? What will be their future?' My answer is, 'Mortal man has not the power to draw aside the veil of unborn time to tell the future of his race. That gift belongs to the Divine alone. But it is given to him to closely judge the future by the present and the past.'

During his visit to Lake Station in 1873 Pokagon spoke of the practice of the palefaces in plowing over and digging up the remains of his people and scattering their bones as they would those of dogs. That practice, he said, had caused him to decide never to return to the desecrated burial ground of his ancestors. That promise was kept, and he never was seen at Lake Station thereafter. He died on January 28, 1899, at his home in Allegan county, Michigan, at the age of seventy, and was buried in Graceland cemetery, Chicago.

JOHN BROWN, SOLDIER, RANCHMAN, BANKER
Crown Point, Indiana
(October 14, 1922)

I was born in a log cabin at Southeast Grove, on the 7th of October, 1840. My father, Alexander F. Brown, was of Scotch ancestry and was a native of New York state. He came to Eagle Creek township in 1837, and was killed in a runaway twelve years later, leaving a family of five children, of which I was the oldest.

As the country was new, I got very little education; in fact I attended school but three months a year. My first

teacher was Miss Cynthia Wallace. The school was conducted in a log building at Southeast Grove. The rough walls, puncheon floor and plain oak benches looked quite different from the schools of today. There were wide cracks in the floor, and I often saw bull snakes three to five feet long crawl through them and up and down the inside of the walls. As the door sill was on a level with the ground, frogs and toads would hop into the room. One day I saw a toad under my bench. I took my quill pen and gave him a little tap and he made a squeaking noise. The teacher caught me at it, took me up to the middle of the floor and gave me a trouncing.

There were a great many massassauga rattlers on the prairies. They were small, generally a foot or two long, but were very poisonous. I often ran across them but was never bitten. My mother used to tell about my brother, Barringer, crawling about in the yard and getting near a rattler. She was badly frightened but managed to gather him up before the snake had a chance to strike.

Game was plentiful; there were ducks, geese, sand hill cranes and deer. The deer kept together in the winter, and I have seen as many as forty in a herd. I killed a few, but I generally hunted wild fowl. I used to keep the game and cattle out of the wheat fields for father, and for that he would take me to Chicago where he sold his grain. I considered it a great treat to go there. It took us four days to make the trip; two going and two returning. We generally stopped at the Halfway-House on Ridge road, near Ross. Chicago didn't seem much larger than Crown Point does now.

In the summer I worked on the neighbor's farms, helped William and Thomas Fisher to gather broom corn, and drove oxen. The first man I worked for was my uncle, William Brown. I drove oxen for him at twenty-five cents a day, the regular wages for boys at that time. We broke the oxen by hitching a well-trained team in the front, a fairly well-trained team in the rear and the unbroken teams in the middle. It was a lively job but we managed it all right.

On Sundays, before my father's death, the whole family went regularly to the Presbyterian church at Indian Town, now Hebron. We would take our luncheon along and eat it in the wagon. Reverend Blaine, our pastor, went to California about the time gold was discovered there.

Among the old settlers that I knew were: Solon Robinson, John G. Earle, Ely and Dan Sigler, Maria Gibson and Reverend Timothy Ball. I often saw Robinson, but wasn't well acquainted with him. About 1834 he built a log cabin near the place where the courthouse now stands. His cabin is supposed to have been the first one built on the site of Crown Point. The Earles were pioneers of Liverpool and Hobart. I knew George Earle well, as I did a good deal of business with him. In 1902 he gave me a gold watch which I am still carrying. We went through the Knight Templar lodge together. He was a tall man, had lots of force and acquired considerable property around Liverpool and Hobart. Ely and Dan Sigler kept a store at Hebron at a very early date. I knew Mrs. Maria Gibson and often stopped at her tavern, which was built on the present site of Gary. She was a fine lady. The Ball family were early settlers of Cedar lake. Timothy Ball was a preacher and writer. He wrote a *History of Lake County*, *The Lake of the Red Cedars* and other books. He preached at a church in Shelby, and I often saw him walking there from Crown Point, a distance of sixteen or seventeen miles.

When the Civil war broke out I enlisted in company I, Fifth Indiana cavalry, and served under General Stoneman. I was captured and imprisoned at Andersonville. There were thirty-six thousand prisoners there at one time and thirteen thousand seven hundred and nineteen were buried there. It was seven months before we were liberated by General Stoneman's command, and I was without a change of clothing during that entire time. After three years at the front, during which time I marched with Sherman to the sea and took part in several battles, I returned to Crown Point.

Before the war our family had no buggies or carriages. I worked for low wages and got but little schooling. What education I now have I got since I grew to manhood. Soon after my return from the South, I was nominated for county treasurer. I ran against Honorable B. Woods, for the nomination, and against J. S. Holton, for the election. I won by ninety votes over Holton, who was my daughter-in-law's father. There was little opposition the second term and I was re-elected without difficulty. When I first took the office I could hardly write a tax receipt, but after serving two terms

as county treasurer, I served for the same length of time as auditor.

In 1874 some strangers came in from New Castle, Indiana, and started The First National bank of Crown Point, which was the first bank started in Lake county. But they soon got into financial difficulties and sold out to a number of stockholders, including myself, at sixty cents on the dollar. The first president was Judge David Turner. He held the office for two or three years. Then I was elected and have been president ever since. I frequently go to Gary, as I am president of the Commercial Securities company which has its offices there. My son Neil looks after my interests in the bank here at Crown Point and I spend a great deal of time on my ranch near Shelby. I have 6,000 acres along the Kankakee river. It was nearly all under water until about twenty years ago when it was dredged. I paid a fair price for a part of it, but some I got for almost nothing. The land is now worth from a hundred to a hundred and fifty dollars an acre. I use it mostly for grazing purposes and my son and I have eight hundred and fifty head of cattle on it now, but I get good crops of corn, oats and rye. I have tried several kinds of hay but find that blue grass grows best.

Scattered about on the ranch there are a few sand hills and wooded elevations known as "islands." A few rods east of my home is what is called Curve island, and on this island is the Indian Battle Ground. Until recently there were marks of a very old fortification. It was circular in form and covered three or four acres. There were what appeared to be pits, trenches and embankments. The trenches, when I first saw them, were about one and a half feet deep. There must have been many battles fought there for the surface is littered with flint chips and clam shells, and when I was a boy my boy friends and I would dig into the sand mounds and find skeletons. We unearthed about a half dozen, all of which had been buried in an erect position. They had their knees drawn up under their chin and their hands back of their head. There were numerous arrow heads and stone hatchets in the sand, but none with the skeletons. Last week while excavating for the foundation of a cattle shed on the island one of the workmen turned up a stone hatchet which had been lying about two feet under the surface. It must have lain there a long

time. I have talked with some of our oldest pioneers and none knows anything about the origin of the old fortification.

Note. That Mr. Brown has foresight, is evidenced by an article he contributed thirty-eight years ago, for a book entitled, *Lake County, 1884*. Under the caption, The Kankakee River, its Peculiarities, Marsh Lands, and Islands, he wrote: "It is only a question of time when these lands will all be drained, as the Kankakee valley has a mean elevation of ninety feet above Lake Michigan and 160 feet above the waters of the Wabash river; and lying as they do at the very doors of Chicago, the greatest stock and grain market in the world, it would be strange if they long remain in their present almost worthless condition." J. W. L.

Pennville

By IDA HELEN MCCARTY

Pennville, an isolated farmer's town ten miles from nearest railroad, is located on a high bluff on the east bank of the Salimonia river. It is justly proud of its sturdy Hicksite Quaker founders, the Samuel Grisell family, and of the heritage left the town by the colony of talented Quakers that came in to people the new settlement. Pennville is in remembrance of William Penn. Since its origin, in 1836, a desire for learning has characterized the citizens of Pennville. The early families were from Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Ohio.

In 1837 the first school was "kept" by Levi Johnson, in the log Hicksite church which stood on the knoll, later occupied by the white Quaker church, and today by the Arnold and Engler grain elevator. Across the road from this knoll is the old Hicksite Quaker burying-ground.

One year after the opening of this Quaker school the enterprising Methodists founded a church in the new town—a church destined to do great things for the town and for the country at large. In a few years men and women from the settlement were making themselves heard in church and school affairs, lodge work and even in the administration of business in the capitol. Isaac Underwood's name stands out prominently in this last. Many times he held the offices of representative and senator from this district. The bill making possible the Belt Line railroad at Indianapolis was introduced by him.

Pennville's second school was a log town where now stands the residence of Lee Gibble. Hiram Gregg is best remembered of all the teachers of this school. Later he became a noted nurseryman, and it was he who planted the trees along the long lane leading up to the Penn township school of today; also the evergreens and the fruit orchard of the present school campus, and the great apple orchard now owned by his son Warren Gregg, west of the school building. But the third school, the white frame building that stood in the center of the town, was the foundation on which rests all later history of the place.

Living throughout Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and other western states are white-haired men and women, once urchins in this old frame school. Not one of these but remembers the home village of Pennville (sometimes called "Camden" in those days) with a pride and a love bordering on reverence, and it is a fact that nearly all of these old-time citizens, when dead, will be brought back home for burial.

Among the old Pedagogues who rang the hand bell here and (perhaps) wielded the hickory gad are: Nelson Sawyer, Sherman McDaniel, Josiah V. Jones and his wife Elmira B. Jones, Joseph Boyd, William Hiatt, Rebecca Boles, Decatur Barr, Margaret Grisell, Sarah Janny Bailey and Elizabeth McCoy. The four last named teachers are still living in Pennville. All of them are active citizens, full of hears and full of honors.

In 1872 a two-story brick building replaced the white frame school. At that time this was considered a fine structure. For thirty-nine years it was the glory of the town.

Today, living throughout the United States, are men noted in every honorable profession who, as boys, used to slide down the balusters of this school, do their sums on the blackboards and play baseball and recess games in the great, shady campus.

This school operated from 1872 till 1894 without a commissioned high school, although many high school subjects were taught. Students wishing to obtain higher education in those days attended business schools at Richmond, Ft. Wayne, Muncie and Indianapolis. Dozens of them went to Valparaiso college, Holbrook Normal, Lebanon, Ohio. Occasionally a few went to the University of Michigan, Indiana university or Earlham college.

The list of teachers of this famous school is a noble one; many of them still reside in Pennville; a great many of them live in other Indiana towns. What the pupils of this school did and what they passed on to the younger scholars is the basis of this article.

For the excellency of the work done here, much credit must be given the superintendents who labored so long to obtain a commission. Many of them have since won fame and fortune in various walks of life. They are: Tom Acre, Will Sibray (now Commissioner of Immigration, Pittsburg, Pa.), Jimmie Ferris (who became a noted preached of the North In-

diana Methodist conference and later a missionary to Africa), L. C. Chamberlain, John Jan (a prominent insurance man at Fortville, Indiana), Daniel Boyd and Trueman Boyd (the latter a physician and the founder of the Twin Falls city hospital, Twin Falls, Idaho).

The first graduating class of the new commissioned high school in 1894 consisted of five members: Edward E. Emmons (now of Portland, Indiana), O. O. Emmons (of Tonopah, Nevada), Ashley Cash (of Hoodriver, Oregon), Vannie Walton (of Kenty, Oregon), and Charles Underwood, son of Isaac Underwood mentioned above.

Charles Underwood completed the course at Butler college and then took post-graduate work at Yale, holding two degrees from each university. He was ordained minister of the Church of Christ and later accepted the chair of Sacred History at Butler college, which position he held until his death a few years ago. As the Pied Piper's melody led the children of Hamelin, so this thirst for knowledge kept drawing the youth of Pennville to business school, to normal and to university. The perseverance and the success of Charles Underwood intensified the ambition of his comrades in the "old red brick" schoolhouse.

The very remarkable statement concerning this little village is authentic, coming as it does from the records of Indiana university: Pennville, Indiana, sends more students to schools of higher learning than any other town of its size and population in the states of Indiana or Michigan. Students from this town have registered in West Point, Yale, Columbia, Boston Theological, State Normal of Virginia, Carnegie Tech., Swarthmore, Ohio State university, Wooster, Oberlin, the Western, the Schuster-Martin school of dramatic art, Cincinnati, O., Oxford for Women, Cincinnati university, Ada university, University of Michigan, Earlham, DePauw, Purdue, Hanover, Taylor university, Indiana university, Chicago university, Northwestern, University of Illinois, Monmouth college, University of Wisconsin, University of Colorado, University of Denver, University of California, Idaho university, Lincoln Memorial university and the academies of Culver and Sweetwater, Tennessee.

In 1911 the old red brick was torn down and many loads of its material found themselves "linked with a new race, a

new age," as Kipling would say, in the modern Penn township school on Hiram Griggs hill, in the western part of town. Here, from the laboratory window, one may gaze eastward across the town and see the rise of ground where once stood the first log meeting school nearly 87 years ago. What a volume of history is folded back in those intervening years.

The present school is not strictly consolidated, there being four rural schools in Penn township. Eighty children are transported to Pennville by auto truck. The building is thoroughly modern in every respect, and the departments of manual training, home economics and business are well equipped. The school contains 17 class rooms.

The township library on the first floor of the building contains nearly 1700 volumes, besides reference works, supplementary books and magazines. This is in charge of three persons appointed by the judge of Jay County circuit court. A regular librarian who is a member of the Indiana State library board opens the library to the public every afternoon of the school week. A large gymnasium and basket-ball hall, built entirely by students under the direction of former Supt. O. B. Carmichael, stands a few rods south and west of the school. This building will seat 400 people.

Everything in Pennville centers about the school. Here are held all the teacher's meetings, entertainments, theatricals, debates and spelling bees, musicals, moving pictures, lectures, speeches, basket dinners and many other occasions intended to bring patrons, pupils and teachers together. There is an extensive playground with the school which in vacation is used for a picnic ground.

There have graduated from Pennville high school, since 1894, 273 students. Of this number, 146 have taught school, 216 attended business schools, normals or universities, 53 graduated from universities, 35 did post-graduate work, 9 are physicians, 5 are nurses, 28 moved away during high school senior year, graduating elsewhere. Of this number 20 attended colleges; 12 students are at present attending universities.

The class of 1906 was the banner university class. Pauline Place, DePauw, spent five years in Japan, taught in the Methodist girls' school at Naga Saki and graduated from the Tokio

language school. She toured China in company with her sister Olive Place, vocal teacher in the Kwassui school. During the past summer Pauline Place delivered 59 addresses and lectures in as many Indiana cities in the interests of foreign missionary work. She went to Boston in February, 1922, where she will study for one year in the M. E. theological school. She then expects to return to Japan as teacher of languages. (2) Edgar Grisell, Indiana university, is in the insurance business at Indianapolis, Indiana. (3) Frank Sawyer, Clark college, is professor in that institution. (4) Susannah Gregg, Swarthmore, is a farmer's wife, Pennville. (5) Walter Lewis, Indiana university, is in the secret service, located at Indianapolis. (6) Theodore Davis, Purdue, is a Pennville farmer. (7) Almeda Mason, Marion normal, Earlham, is a farmer's wife, Pennville. (8) Fay Edmundson, The Western (Oxford, Ohio) University of Illinois, taught domestic science in Highland Park high school, and at Champaign, Illinois, was county agent at Kankakee, Illinois, now at Racine, Wisconsin. (9) Edgar Hiatt, Indiana university, Indiana medical, practiced in Portland, Ind., with Dr. Schwartz. Went with the 91st Division to France and Germany as surgeon. Is now located in the Provident hospital building in Pennville.

Pennville boys who have chosen the medical profession are: W. C. Horn, of Cincinnati medical college (retired); Trueman Boyd, of Twin Falls, Idaho; Roy De Weese, of Hartford City, Indiana (these three were not Pennville high school graduates); Walter Place, Indiana university, Indiana medical, now at Hartford City; Harvey W. Millery, Indiana university, now at Great Lakes naval training school; Howard Jones, Indiana university, Indiana medical, now at Salimonia; Lee Heller, Indiana university, Rush medical, now at Dunkirk; J. S. Hickman, University of Wisconsin, Rush medical, was physician for the Studebaker corporation, South Bend, with Dr. C. E. Caylor, of the Wells County hospital, now with the United States army (did not attend Pennville schools, but family resided here); Zell Walker, Indiana university, Indiana medical, now with the Methodist hospital corps of physicians; Harry Gray, Indiana university, Indiana medical, died in France; Harold Caylor, Indiana university, Rush medical, Mayo Bros.

hospital, Rochester, Minn., will locate in Bluffton; Trueman Caylor, Indiana university, Rush medical; Russel Horn, University of Michigan-Vet., at Fiatt, Ind.

A partial list of Pennville students who are now wide-awake citizens in various parts of the United States: (1) Charles Jones, Valparaiso, mayor of Sierra Madre, California. (2) Prof. Elmer Jones, Valparaiso, Earlham, Monmouth college, University of Colorado, Columbia university, Leipsig, was professor of phycology at Virginia State normal for 6 years; professor of philosophy at Indiana university for 6 years; director of the school of education of Northwestern for past 7 years; was sent by the United States government (in the interests of the M. E. Church) to the country of Albania to devise for that nation a system of higher education. He is the author of several scientific works and is a contributor to various research journals, and is now at Northwestern. (3) Lynn Grissell, Rose Polytechnic, West Point, now major in the United States army; was stationed in Arizona 2 years; Yellowstone Park, 2 years; in the Philippines, 4 years; at the Presidio, California, 2 years; now resides at Burlingame, California, and teaches military science in the San Francisco high schools. (4) Glade McClish, graduate of Angola and of Taylor university; is Methodist Episcopal missionary to Honan district, China, having charge of the Centenary food distribution station there. (5) Will Leamon (DePauw) was consulting chemist at Wooster, Ohio. Is the originator of the new method of producing gasoline from fuel oil. He now owns and operates a factory for this at Newark, Ohio. (6) Dwight "Tom" Leamon is in the United States navy, on board the battleship Mississippi at San Pedro. He has made four trips to South America. Plays the clarinet in the band. (7) Thomas Darrel Foster, Indiana university, has been a successful high school principal in several western states, at present with Monmouth, Illinois, high school, as teacher of higher mathematics, and coach of the football team. (8) Minnie Eberly, Terre Haute, Tri-State normal, Indiana university, Columbia university; now high school principal at Eaton, Pennsylvania. (9) Leslie Johnson, graduate of Tecumseh, Mich., high school, is now at Chicago art institute. Has become an illustrator of great ability. (10) Charles Gray, University of Michigan, Columbia university; now a successful real estate broker in

Chicago. (11) Lloyd Waltz, Indianapolis school of pharmacy; owns and operates his own drug store in Pennville, being the town's youngest business man. (12) Tom E. Miller, Irvington pharmacy college, owns and operates his own drug store in Bluffton. (13) Edward Harper, Purdue pharmacy, now manager of the Myers drug stores of Ft. Wayne. He served with the Expeditionary forces in France and Germany. (14) Celeste Bloxsome Northwestern is a member of the Chicago Mutual bureau and is reader and entertainer with the Ben-Hur singers and players. (15) Hattie Listenfelt, Indiana university, Columbia university, Chicago university, now successful high school teacher of English. (16) Mary Mason, Angola Normal, Earlham, Purdue, Indiana university, specialized in sciences, taught science in the Lincoln Memorial university, was government expert in the chemical and bacteriological department of the army camp at Ft. Sam Houston, Texas. Is now chemist in the pathological laboratory of Marion, Indiana, founded by Dr. Albert Davis—the only laboratory of this kind in Grant county. (17) Chester Teeter, Indiana university, naturalization examiner during the World war. Now successful lawyer in Ft. Wayne. (18) Whitney Smith, Indiana university, a successful lawyer of Los Angeles, Cal. (19) Dan De Witte, United States navy, has been around the world five times. (20) Chester Davis, Indiana university, joint representative from Randolph and Jay counties; one of the framers of the Indiana blue sky law, now attorney for State fire marshall, Indianapolis. (21) Fay Horn, Terre Haute normal, Indiana university, teacher at Sweetser; now teacher of Latin and Shakespeare in Central Normal, Danville, Ind. (22) Jessie Horn, graduate Presbyterian hospital, Chicago, post graduate Detroit, Methodist Episcopal hospital, Indianapolis, Protestant Deaconess, Indianapolis, Hahana-mon hospital, Chicago; now superintendent Ryburn hospital, Ottawa, Illinois. (23) Gene Starbuch, The Alfred Holbrook Normal, Lebanon, O., Indiana university, taught in Central Normal; was treasurer of Jay county for many years; now treasurer of the Haynes Automobile company, Kokomo.

This list omits many successful teachers and merchants, ranchers in Texas, oil-promoters of Texas, and Oklahoma, farmers in Idaho and Montana, and lumbermen in Washing-

ton and Oregon; also investors in Canada, and many prominent men and women of the Gulf states.

The town of Pennville is somewhat over a mile long, north and south, and three-quarters of a mile wide. The main street is the state highway (Richmond-Ft. Wayne) being cement paved through the town. South of Pennville, ten miles, is Redkey and Dunkirk twelve miles. It is twelve miles east to the county seat, Portland; eighteen miles north to Bluffton.

There are twelve miles of paved side-walks in the town, good business houses of block and of brick, electric lights, telephones, three garages, three gasoline fill-stations, 178 automobiles in and near the town, besides those of the garages and there are two daily jitneys to Portland and to Bluffton.

The population is near 850, at present. This has always been a farmer's town. The farm land in this locality is unusually fertile, and there is still a good yield of oil, and a moderate supply of gas. Out east of town are wonderful deposits of sand and gravel. All the farmers here raise pure bred stock; as a proof of their progressiveness hundreds of farm magazines arrive at the Pennville postoffice weekly.

The Grange is one of the largest and busiest in the state. Farmers' institutes are held each year, and are well attended, not only by farmers but by the citizens generally. The Grangers never miss an opportunity of displaying their products at the Jay county fair, and at those of neighboring counties, and especially the state fair.

A stranger once asked "Are all the citizens of Pennville Quakers?" The Methodist church has the largest congregation now and includes scores of families of Quaker origin. There is a Church of Christ which prides itself on its beautifully kept lawn and beds of flowers. There is the Friends church and the old Hicksite meeting-house which is seldom used.

All the Young People's societies and Women's auxiliaries are represented in these churches; and the Saturday night chicken suppers and basement banquets call together hundreds of people,—making Pennville a social center.

There is but one Catholic lady in the town, a college bred woman who has lived in various cities and she is authority for the statement: "I never lived in a place where people

worked so well together for the good of a town. The churches help one another. I meet with such generous treatment from everyone, no matter what church he or she claims." Mrs. A. C. Brown's estimate of the church life of the town may have some bearing on the educational welfare.

This is a lodge town. Besides the Grange, there are six large lodges, each one having a commodious hall. The social activities, in connection with these lodges, draw people within a radius of ten miles. And it is a town of many clubs. Besides the Latin club of high school, the sewing club and the Goodtime club, there are the H.O.D.S. and the En Avant clubs. None of these are federated.

The En Avant has been "doing something" for thirteen years. It is composed of 32 married ladies and the work done is literary and musical, with four social functions each year.

The H.O.D.S. (domestic science) was composed originally of young unmarried ladies; but now at the annual "home-coming" many states are represented and there are the merry faces of numerous children. The latest social event of the H.O.D.S. was the noon wedding of Miss Nila Edmundson, domestic science teacher, Manual Training school, Indianapolis, to Mr. Howard Ervin, merchant of Hartford City. This was the culmination of an Indiana university romance.

If a town may be judged by its private libraries, then this one need not fear the most critical inspection for Pennville citizens have taken much pride in the selection of books and home magazines. This Quaker habit of gleaning from the rarest and the finest flowers of literature, may account for the fact that Pennville youth, brought up in this careful way, thrived and expanded, a university course following as second nature.

A visitor to the town once said: "Never anywhere, have I heard of or seen so many relics and family heir-looms as are in Pennville." Its a veritable Old curiosity Shop. Here are pieces of furniture, coverlids, china, pewter, colonial cooking utensils, needle-work, pictures, rare books and documents, jewelry and souvenirs of many wars keepsakes from dozens of states. Money could not purchase these.

The drinking water is so cold and delicious that Old Immortal J. N. once told a lady here that he had come straight from Columbus, Ohio, to Pennville, "just to get a drink of

good water." There are yet a few of the old springs along the river bank and in the cellars and hill-sides. Once the community abounded in them, and there were frequently found bowers, or "spring-houses" over the springs, and a gourd dipper inviting the thirsty traveler.

There are many musicians here. The town enjoys an Epworth League lecture course, and a high school lecture course each year; also a summer chautauqua, street fair or fall carnival. There is a first class moving-picture house so that no one in this town need complain of dreariness.

The first oil well in the state of Indiana was drilled in Pennville, (often called Camden in those days.) Some of the weather-bleached timbers are still lying in the field southeast of town, marking the site. These are ghostly relics of that great phase in Indiana's history, the oil boom.

Pennville was along the renowned "Quaker Trace" of early Hoosier history. It was also in the underground railway district of pre-Civil war fame. The old Harris home, at Balbec, (Penn. township) once sheltered "Eliza" of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* renown. In the last 50 years Pennville has come to be known as the cradle of Methodism.

The vicinity's early history is intimately connected with that of the Godfrey Indians whose home was then in the 4000 acre reserve in the corner of Blackford and Jay. Those Indians sold their land and moved up near Fort Wayne. Two homes in Pennville are built of brick taken from the old Chief Godfrey's house. These are the last houses in the western part of town, before one takes the drive around the beautiful, shady, winding river road, one of the seven pikes leading out of Pennville.

Near the beginning of this same road is one of the curious wire foot bridges across the Salimonie which always interest visitors of the town. Ascent is made by steps into a tall tree where there is a platform, from which one reaches the narrow bridge, (swinging twenty feet above the river) and then crosses to the other side into a platform in another tree. It requires a level head to do the trick.

Close by this bridge, is the giant oak tree which marks the spot where a band of the Godfrey Indians camped by night, while exploring along the river for a reputed buried

treasure, coming back for this long after the tribe had moved away. This is the Godfrey oak much prized by the owner.

Following the river road westward, one comes to the old Reserve now for a great part in farm lands. It is worth a day's drive to explore this region. Other points of interest are, first: the Lupton pony farm on the angling pike to Hartford City, west of Pennville. This is the A. G. Lupton summer home on a farm of 400 acres, where live 350 ponies, Mexican burros, goats and black belted cattle. There are three tenant houses, an immense barn, hospital, blacksmith shops, race-track, corrals, etc. Mr. Lupton is a Pennville boy though his address is Hartford City, where he is a banker, and he delights in showing visitors through the grounds of his elegant home and in displaying the ponies and droll little burros.

East of Pennville are the three large, well kept cemeteries. These cemeteries are the especial care of the citizens. Still eastward is the 160 acres of pure gravel, the Margrette farm with its gravel pits (now small lagoons where the young folks go bathing in summer) and where the shade and the diversity of the ground make of it a natural park site. Still on, are the famous Twin Hills, once 200 feet above level; now nearly all converted into sand piles. This was once a great terminal moraine, and was the probable water shed between the Erie basin and the Ohio river valley. Here in a glacial formation, last summer, the workmen unearthed dozens of skeletons and parts of skeletons that may have been prehistoric men.

In this neighborhood are the spooky little gingseng farm in Hoover's grove and the great maple sugar camp of Mr. Walter Hartley one of the few such camps now in Indiana, and going north brings one to the old Spiritualist church, grove and burying-ground. This once had a large following and had state-wide reputation. This locality reminds one of some of Dicken's weird scenes in *Bleak House*. South of Pennville, on the Redkey pike, is the large Dunkard church in the midst of a prosperous Dunkard community. This church is a center for camp-meetings, Bible lectures, and many other interesting functions. The students from this church attend school at North Manchester and camp in summer at Winona Lake.

Pennville has a bird-man. This is the banker, H. H. Coffel, a home boy. His fine modern residence is enhanced by many artistic bird-houses and feed-stations. He also maintains a small bird park. Mr. Coffel lectures to school children all over the state on bird life, bird conservation, and our native trees. His lectures are illustrated with original slides. He has awakened much interest in this important subject among young people, and also adults; with the result that many homes in and around Pennville are proudly displaying bird houses. Mr. Coffel is a member of the executive board of the National Audubon society.

Mrs. Nellie Place Chandler, president of the women's Foreign Missionary society, M. E. church (the Richmond district) was a member of the General Conference at Des Moines Iowa. She is a musician of much ability and a composer of many Sunday school songs, hymns, cantatas, special day programs, choir music and many popular piano selections.

Aunt Mary (Shanks) McCoy is nearing the century mark. She is one of those rare, highly cultured Quaker dames, D.A.R.F.F.V. one of those pioneers who came out of Virginia to the Indiana wilderness in a covered wagon. She was connected with Indiana's old Liber college, and her life has been a shining example of modesty, truth and the love of learning. She is well known throughout Indiana. Her famous brother, General John P. C. Shanks, forms a chapter in Indiana Civil war history and was once a noted figure in Washington, D.C., and in Indianapolis. Died at Portland, Indiana.

Ralph Yountz, local baker, was for two and a half years in Alaska, in the service of the regular army. He is familiar with many existing conditions of that country, climatic, geographic, social and political. He had many experiences in Bering Sea and on the Pacific ocean.

Pioneer Homesteads

By JULIA LE CLERC KNOX, Vevay, Ind.

Switzerland county and especially Vevay, is rich in interesting old homesteads. Some of them have been brought up to date but quite a number have been left almost entirely untampered with. A great similarity of architecture prevails, one of the most striking characteristics of which is the exceedingly thick walls, and the strong disregard of any attempt at convenience. Many of these old houses have no inside communication between adjoining rooms. One must go outside to enter the next apartment. The outside stairway leads to upper stories and then there is almost invariably the little squeezed-up portico, like a bird's nest, over the front door, and the built-in cupboards on each side of the open fireplace with its high, wooden mantel.

One of the most interesting old landmarks and one that strikes the eye first, approaching Vevay from the water front, is the old Ferry house. It was in process of building when the first steamer passed down the Ohio and the people who came from miles around to see this wonder of steam power, gathered around the foundation of this building, erected by John Francis Dufour who laid out Vevay and watched the workmen, who probably builded better than they knew for the old house has stood the test of time and high water very successfully and still proudly holds up its head, as one might say. During the annual floods of the Ohio, the water often gets to the top of the mantel in the second story. It is built of cement and looks like an adobe house. It is quaint and picturesque from both front and rear. The side facing the river has the outside stair opening by a trap door on the upper porch. The lower porch has the old time brick paved floor. The walls are three feet thick and the doors are heavy and broad.

Only the two families have lived in this house. Since the Dufours passed away, the Grahams have owned it, and it owes its name of the "Ferry" house to the fact that the Grahams have furnished several dynasties of owners of the ferry boat which has its landing at the foot of the knoll on which it stands.

It is so rambling, illogical and detached, one feels he almost needs a guide and compass to get through it. The third story is reached by the conventional narrow, steep cupboard—like attic stairs. Here in a tiny bedroom containing quaint old furniture, a man is said to have hanged himself in the long ago. Why, no one seems to know. Tradition has it that Robert Dale Owen has embalmed this old house as a haunted place in his *Footsteps on the Boundary of Another World*.

Vevay proudly claims to be the birthplace of Edward Eggleston and the house in which he first saw the light is in a very good state of preservation. It is a two-story brick situated on the main street of the town. You enter a short but broad hall. On the right is a square sitting room with the usual built-in cupboards flanking the old wood mantel. You step back into a long narrow room evidently originally a porch, one end of which is partitioned off into a pantry. A window opening off from the front room very clearly shows this to be an after thought. The kitchen is reached by a raise-up-the-latch-and-walk-in door. Here is the corner cupboard of pioneer times with funny wooden buttons and a back stair with closed-in stair way and eccentric triangular steps that threaten life and limb of all but the most wary. Off the kitchen is an unexpected little room and under the front stair is a queer little dark closet that piqued our imagination as children. One might fancy the youthful Edward's earliest ideas of this. The front stair is easier of ascent than that of most old houses. When you reach the landing you find yourself unable to decide which way you want to go—on towards the front or to the back where an interesting vista through two low-browed rooms ends in a vision of an old flower garden seen through two old small-paned windows that open like doors, on hinges. As this way seems most uniquely promising, you are apt to take it. And one is not disappointed. First, is the tiniest bed room imaginable with a high chest of drawers and a cubby-hole window suggestive of all the fascinating mystery of years of attic accumulation. You pass through an arched opening into a slightly more grown-up room, an ideal place to be lulled to sleep by the patter of the rain upon the roof. Here is found the headwaters, as one might say, of the queer crooked stairs. There is no protecting rail and one thinks with horror of what

might have happened if Mr. Eggleston had been addicted to sleep-walking in his youth. *The Hoosier School Master* would have been an untold tale, and so would *Roxy* and all the rest. The front upper room is large and pleasant with the deep built-in presses flanking the mantel. The deep window seats show the thick walls. Just at the side of the room is a tiny closet-like room that reminds one of an infant in comparison. This is another characteristic of these old houses. The little squeezed up portico over the front door has been torn away—wooden trellis and all—and the tangled old garden that fascinated the childish fancy into imagining all sorts of Alice-in-Wonderland adventures that might take place there has been combed up into modernity. This house is now owned and occupied by Mr. and Mrs. James Miller.

On the corner lot next the Eggleston place is the Knox homestead, about a hundred years old. It is a low-browed two-story framed, feeble with age. An odd narrow porch, hemmed in by an iron rail, runs across the front, the width of the two heavy front doors. Scarcely two rooms in this house are on exactly the same level. You either step up or step down perceptibly or imperceptibly. By deep, shaky steps you go from the little back entry up a stair way that winds to the right and reaches a hall cut up by steps that lead into four rooms, all on different levels. One of them a tiny one with the walls slanting down to the floor and you can stand erect only in the middle of the room. You step from the trellised side porch into an old-fashioned garden where coxcombs, zennias, petunias, etc., used to grow. Here is an old well, now robbed of windlass and sweep. The house is now occupied by a young couple, Mr. and Mrs. Carl Culbertson, but in the lifetime of the last owner, it was filled with old fashioned furniture and china. Heavy gilt framed mirrors and old portraits hung on the walls. A grandfather's clock sat in state in the parlor and in fact everything savored strongly of the last century and made an appropriate setting for the gentle mistress herself who in cap and modified hoop skirt, gladly welcomed her guests.

On lower Market street is an old brown frame, jutting out over the sidewalk. It is known as the "Aunt Lucy Detraz" home. This old lady lived to be almost one hundred. She was the daughter of Antoinette Dufour Morerod whose broth-

ers laid out the town of Vevay. From the little trellised porch at the side you step into a low-ceiled rambling house, built in a detached illogical way with three-cornered closets here and there. It originally came to a sort of climax down stairs here and down stairs there, until it landed below the bank. A closed stair leads by a straight and narrow way to the upper rooms. There is a picturesque two story veranda facing the river and it was from this place that "Rev. Whittaker" talked to "Toinette" in *Roxy*. Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Shadday now occupy the house. Mrs. S. is the only daughter of Aunt Lucy.

The homestead known as the "Uncle Aime" Morerod place (Mr. Morerod was Aunt Lucy's brother) is just on the outskirts of the city near the hills. It stands back some distance from the gate and is reached by a winding path. Ascending the stone steps, sunken with age, you pass through the great colonial doorway into a broad hall. There are fifteen rooms not counting halls, entries or closets under the stair. The chair-boarded walls are very thick. The rooms with old-fashioned disregard of convenience do not open into each other but preserve a rigid individuality. You must go out into the hall and start over again. Conservation of energy counted for nothing evidently in the days when this house was built. You descend a flight of steps, walk a few paces and ascend an equal flight and as there is no especial gain to be had except exercise, one feels this should be bridged over.

General John Dumont built this house about a hundred years ago, and here Julia L. Dumont, the famous pioneer school-mistress did her grand work. The historic school-room, now somewhat cut up into other rooms, is on an upper floor and was reached by an outer stair, which is now torn away, yet the door still remains at the rear of the building and testifies to the extreme thickness of the walls. In the great room on the left of the hall on the grained floor are the brass window curtain trimmings. The ceilings are extremely high and the rooms are cool as a cellar in summer and cold as Siberia in winter. Everything is redolent of the past. There is flavor of sadness, of inevitableness, suggestive of human destiny, old age and unfitness to keep up with present day demands, a sort of air of "have-done-ness" and despondent waiting for the hand of the present to tear it down. It is now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Leep who have

spent a great deal of money in attempting to lengthen its days of usefulness.

Another old Morerod homestead, built by the father of "Uncle Aime" and "Aunt Lucy" is just a little outside of the corporation below Vevay and faces the river. It stands back from the road and is surrounded by a well-kept lawn sprinkled with cedar trees. The story goes, that when the house was built Mrs. Morerod journeyed to Cincinnati to get these trees to set out and the dealer convinced her it would be best to take tiny cuttings instead of young trees. Imagine the feelings of her husband when he hitched up a two horse wagon to meet her at the boat landing and haul home the trees. The six of them now testify the dealer's judgment was correct. Just this year an old frame addition to the brick nucleus was torn away, this was known as the "ball room." Here, lighted by brass candelabra on the walls, were enacted many lively scenes of pioneer days. One lady came to take a last look at the place where her father and mother first met. The ball room was on the upper floor and was reached by outside stairs. An old wine cellar below contained two mammoth wine casks, one with the capacity of seven hundred gallons, the other of five hundred, and they had to be pulled to pieces to remove them from the cellar. This was done only a few months ago. There was a brick pavement in this cellar and it is said that old Jean Morerod, the builder, took his daughter there and showed where he had dug up a part of the floor and buried his money, in case any unexpected Indian raid should put a period to his existence before he could tell his family where his money was. There was a square place in the floor that looked as if the bricks had been removed. This house is now occupied by Mr. Julia Dupraz and family, descendants of Mrs. Julia L. Dumont.

At the cross roads that lead to Vevay, Madison and Moorefield stands the old Heady home, built a hundred years ago, by a Siebenthal who married one of the sisters of the Dufours who founded Vevay. It is a large brick and has suffered the improvement of a broad cement front porch which replaced the conventional little frame railed one now doing duty at the side. Again, the broad roomy hall and the thick walls and old-time idea of convenience being no factor, shown in the different floor levels. You go up a step or two here

and down a step or two there. There is a great back porch screened into summer kitchen, hood and an unexpected little milk room up a few steps. The stair leading to the upper story is the conventional one found in old houses with a broad landing near the top. There is one great room filled with furniture, breathing of the past, and three smaller ones. The stairs to the garret are so quaint one wonders if the garret was meant to hide in, in pioneer days, it is so unexpected. You see a cupboard-like door in the wall, led up to by two or three steps far apart. You open the door and peep in. There are more steps wide apart, not straight in front but to the side, leading up up, to a mysteriously fascinating darkness. Mr. and Mrs. Heady now own and occupy this interesting old place.

Down the Madison road a short distance is the old Henry place. Through a clover field you come to a tiny brick house, sixty years old and small of its age. It is extremely insignificant in outward appearance; crouching down in an old-fashioned tangled garden, fragrant with roses, pinks and honeysuckle, it gives no signs of the treasures it contains. The garden slopes to the river and a good view of the passing steamers may be had from it. The house contains more rooms than one would imagine; parlor, living room and kitchen stretch in a straight line from the front door and along the side are three tiny bedrooms in a row with no communication with each other.

The house was built by the father of the present occupants, two extremely interesting elderly maiden ladies and their bachelor brother who reminds one of Thoreau. They all might have stepped out from the pages of *Cranford*.

Their father, an ink manufacturer came from England and establishe dan ink manufactory just a step or two from the house. It still stands, the great mixing pot, furnace and all the machinery scattered around rather illogically now, although the old owner was always severely particular about everything being in its place, as those could testify who found his manufactory and him as interesting as a wizard in his workshop whom they watched "inviz." For instance when he used a pair of scissors, he hung them back on their especial nail, immediately and nobody dared touch them. Many

Switzerland county boys with inventive or mechanical turn haunted his place and bear testimony today to his influence.

In a sort of sanctum sanctorum, there is an old static machine and book binding apparatus. Here the sprightly younger daughter carries on that part of her father's trade and binds books for the county.

A queer little ladder-like stair leads to a garret with trunks full of quilts worth going miles to see. There is one sixty years old with eight thousand pieces. Think of it! In this day of club and college for women, could such a thing be done? Such tiny intricate pieces and patterns! And patience!

There is an old chest from across seas, the oak rim of which was made from piles taken from the Thames, and it is said to be four hundred years old. The old manufactory is wooden and has many gables. It is said the owner might have made a fortune, but he confided the secret of his ink mixture to others who cheated him of his patent.

In the houses there are many fine old pieces of furniture—mahogany pedestal tables, chests of drawers and beautiful four posted bedsteads. On a chest of drawers stands a wooden treasure box that looks like one might imagine the ark of the covenant looked.

Out of a tall secretary book case three stories high, they exhumed for us to see an old newspaper published in Ulster county, New York, in 1800. Wonder of wonders it was edged with black mourning for G. Washington. It gave one quite a turn to read the account of his burial as follows:

On Wednesday last, the mortal part of Washington, the Great Father of his Country and Friend of Man, was consigned to the tomb with solemn honors and funeral pomp.

Of minor interest of course was the advertisement for sale of a negro wench. Out of the chest of drawers the dear old ladies brought two dolls, one eighty years old but still interesting and much handsomer than one would think dolls were, so long ago. It had come from England and was dressed in beautiful hand-embroidered baby clothes. The other was sixty years old and the china head was made to represent the style of hair dressing of that time—side curls and back

curls topped by a tight chignon. The dress was in keeping, pantalettes and all.

Then they brought forth their mother's wedding gown, a flowered silk of a quaint old-time color. It is hand-made with stitches so regular and small it is hard to believe they are not machine made. The skirt and sleeves were full and the bodice whale-boned with a broad cape, all suggestive of old family daguerrotypes.

Then they showed us an old flint lock musket of 1814, and struck fire from the hammer. The old thing was so heavy one wondered if there would be much fight left in a fellow who had carried it very far, and thought it was just more proof that "There were giants in those days."

When we stepped into the living room we could almost imagine we were in Whittier's home. Rag carpet and oblong rag rugs covered the floor. An old clock seventy-six years old hangs on the wall, beautiful in line and design. It looks strangely up to date because clocks now-a-days are being built on those same lines. An old wooden settee that had once had rockers and done duty as a cradle, occupied a conspicuous place. Wooden chairs and a wooden rocker of picturesque quaintness and a large heavily framed mirror attract attention as does also a loom for weaving. Old prints hang on the walls, virgin to wall paper. Altogether one feels after a visit to this place as if the pages of history had been turned back sixty years.

A few miles above town is the house built by Judge Elisha Golay ninety-two years ago. It is now occupied by Rev. L. E. Smith. It looks small from the outside but astonishes one at the amount of space inside. There is a brick walk on each side as old as the house. A honeysuckle hedge borders the lawn from which a fine view of the hill may be had. Unaccountable as it may seem, there is a cistern in the cellar.

Of all the old houses this one wears the belt for queer little closets and three cornered cupboards. In one room a little door opens high in the wall and shows three drawers, spoken of by old members of the family as the "secret" drawers. Here, it is said, the old Judge kept his money before the day of banks. In the dining room a picture hangs over a square hole in the wall, strongly suggestive of secret springs. Above the mantel in this same room is another

little door now papered over, and a picture hung above it. One couldn't help but think of the "House of Seven Gables."

The doors are large and heavy and three-paneled, with brass knobs and hinges that run across like bars over the outer doors as against pioneer foes. One of these doors has a latch like a coffee grinder. The broad, cheerful front hall has a stairway inviting one to the upper story where three airy rooms have any number of little closets, some opening into cubby holes.

A short distance farther up the road, is the house built by Constant Golay (son of Judge Elisha) and brother-in-law of "Uncle Aime" Morerod in 1843. The date is marked on the cellar steps. This house has been modernized by the present owners, Mr. and Mrs. Waltz, and has been converted into quite a handsome residence. The conventional small front portico has been removed and a broad veranda with massive columns has taken its place. The great deep triangular-shaped back porch has remained the same. From it a fine view of the Ohio may be obtained. One of the chief attractions is the broad central hall, running the length of the house, and having a beautiful polished floor. The doors are handsomely panelled with brass knobs, the outer ones have hinges reaching entirely across like bars, as a protection against outer force. The walls are nineteen inches thick.

The house now owned by the parents of Will Stevens, and C. D. Stevens of University of Cincinnati (coming into some fame as a landscape artist) is more than seventy years old, but is in excellent repair, and like a well-preserved individual is all the more interesting on account of its experiences, as it has lost all the crudeness of youth. It is situated in Vevay on lower Market street on the site of the first bank. The front door, presided over by a trim little portico, is reached by a flight of stone steps. Through this colonial door you enter a broad hall running the length of the house and opening at the rear on a wide veranda, two stories in height. From this veranda, with its great Doric columns, one has a fine view of the Ohio and the distant Kentucky hills.

It overlooks an artistically planned flower garden, which by terraces, slopes to the meadows that border the river. There are phlox, sweet pinks and other old fashioned flowers,

and a rose bower with rustic seats. Then there is a sundial built of the material of the first soda fountain in Vevay.

The house is furnished in exquisite keeping. The kitchen and dining room are in the basement. The latter is especially attractive with its small-paned windows opening on hinges, its three cornered cupboard built in the wall, and most charming of all—above the mantel a picturesque view of the Ohio, a wall decoration by the artist son of the owner. From the kitchen you have the novel experience of going up three or four steps to the cellar which is cool and sweet-smelling.

Another interesting old house is the Schenck house, also on Market street, with its back to the river. It is a three story brick with the customary small front porch though the stone pillars are large and massive. A broad hall runs the length of the house and opens on a broad veranda at the rear overlooking the Ohio. This veranda also has heavy stone pillars and is three stories in height. It can be seen far away on the river and is an old landmark. Spacious double parlors are on each side of the hall. The lofty ceilings give palatial proportions. Its crowning glory is the beautiful spiral stair winding “up, up uppy” like the one in the fairy story but instead of finding “Boo” at the top, there is a queer old attic with the most interesting old hair-covered trunks and derelicts of all kinds.

On the way to the attic where the old family “has beens” repose one reaches the second story as one might naturally suppose. Here, again is the broad hall the entire length of the house opening on a sort of Romeo and Juliet balcony in front and in the back on the broad veranda before-mentioned, and great airy bedrooms on each side. By a closed stair the basement is reached. Again the broad hall with the dining room on one side with its quaint Delft tiles and on the other the big kitchen. Some interesting old furniture is found in this house, now owned and occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Will Fry. There are at least half a dozen more old homesteads in and about Vevay fully as interesting.

Historical News

By the INDIANA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

Almost daily we see evidences of the growing interest throughout Indiana in state and local history. No one, however, has characterized this phase of our work better than Mrs. Mindwell Crampton Wilson, newly elected state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution for Indiana. In speaking of the historical consciousness she says:

For months the state newspapers have contained a steadily increasing amount of material concerning local history. Historical items and reminiscences seem to jump up at us from every page. While much of the matter is a repetition, some rescue from the past facts worth preserving, and the whole is worth-while as answering the reproach that we of Indiana care nothing for our antecedents.

This movement—for by this time it has become a very perceptible movement—may be traced back to our centennial year, 1916, and the organized effort on the part of the state to promote an historical program. The observance of the centennial was of itself of course a great stimulus in that direction, with the creation of a special historical commission to take the business in hand. The appeals for local pageants and other demonstrations reached pretty nearly every county in the state quickening the historical sense as it never had been stirred before, while the celebrations staged by the state itself on a spectacular scale helped much to the desired end.

Our part in the World war stimulated our interest in collecting historical data. The state historical commission insisted that we keep accurate account of our war activities. After the war we were urged to organize a county historical society. We took an excursion through Adams township and found we were rich in history—and the local society was soon organized. We were fortunate in electing the right president and the right secretary to carry on the work.

Finally, if we are listing all the evidence of an awakening historical activity, mention should be made of the growing interest in historical markers, the latest of which was the Old Town marker, recently erected near Logansport, and the increasing number of pageants, most of them of an historical character, which are daily chronicled in the newspapers.

Carroll County Citizen-Times, October 14, 1922.

One of the signs of the increasing interest in local history is seen by the growing number of markers that are being erected on historical sites and spots over the state. Within the last few months a dozen or more historical markers have

been erected in Indiana, and the unveiling of each was the occasion of an historical gathering for the citizens of each respective community, at which time historical papers and addresses were read.

In Rush county a bronze tablet has been erected to the memory of the Revolutionary soldiers buried in that county. It contains 22 names, and has been placed in the corridor of the county court house in Rushville.

In Cass county on August 6th a marker was placed at Old Town on the site where the charge across the river against the Indians occurred on August 7, 1791. The Old Town chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution was responsible for this marker.

In Lake county, Ross township, a bronze tablet was unveiled on August 28th to the memory of Bartlett Woods, Lake county pioneer, state senator, and a man of affairs. The Lake County historical and old settlers' association at their 46th annual meeting, unveiled the marker and were responsible for its erection.

In Elkhart county a marker consisting of a slab embedded in a granite boulder marking the grave of William Tuffs in Bonneyville cemetery, was unveiled by the order of Red Men of Elkhart. William Tuffs was a member of the Boston Tea Party, and one of the founders of the order of Red Men.

On September 17 at New Marion, Ripley county, a marker was dedicated marking the spot where the first court was held in that county. The stone stands alongside the Michigan road, and therefore serves as a marker for both the first seat of justice, and this historic highway. Joseph Hassmer, president of the Ripley County historical society, donated the stone for the marker.

On September 24 the Tipton County historical society placed two bronze tablets, one marking a log cabin, and the other an auditorium in the city park of Tipton. The building of these two was begun in 1916, as centennial memorials, but due to the interruption of the war the placing and dedication of the bronze tablets was delayed until this year.

In Grant county a marker on the site of the Mississinewa battlefield was dedicated in May, 1922. This marker was placed by the Marion high school, which, under the direction of Miss Cora M. Straughan, has been greatly interested in

repairing the Indian burial ground near Jalapa, and preserving the cemetery as one of the landmarks in Grant county.

In July, 1922, a memorial to Julia V. Strauss, "Country Contributor," was unveiled in Turkey Run park, Parke county. This memorial was the gift of the Women's press club of Indiana.

In Wells county a marker was dedicated early in October, on the site where the first schoolhouse was built in Jackson township, that county.

In Decatur county two markers have been erected within the last two months. A monument unveiled by the Woman's Relief Corps September 8, 1922, in the court house yard was erected to the memory of the soldiers from the county who lost their lives in the Civil war. On November 11, the Lone Tree chapter of the D. A. R. dedicated a marker to Col. Thomas Hendricks, who made the first survey of what is now Decatur county. In the log cabin which he erected the first court was held in Decatur county, and the name Greensburg was selected for the county seat by Mrs. Thomas Hendricks in memory of her home town in Pennsylvania. Mrs. Mary Stewart Carey, descendant of Col. Thomas Hendricks, donated the marker.

The historical and patriotic societies of Indianapolis and Marion county, aided by a special appropriation of the Indianapolis City Park board, will mark the site on which the John McCormick cabin stood, the first cabin built in Indianapolis. A huge New Hampshire granite boulder, mounted by a bronze tablet, showing a log cabin in relief, and with appropriate inscription, has been adopted for this marker.

On June 14, 1922, the Mary Penrose Wayne chapter of the D. A. R. in Fort Wayne dedicated a marker on the site where the last French fort stood in Ft. Wayne.

County historical societies have recently been organized in Shelby and Boone counties, and township historical societies have been organized in Montgomery and Tipton counties. On August 3, 1922, the Shelby County historical society, an outgrowth of the centennial celebration, was organized with the following officers: R. W. Harrison, president; Lottie Tattman, vice-president; Mrs. Catherine Kennedy, secretary, and Clarence Crockett, treasurer. Dr. Samuel Kennedy, of Shelbyville, recently donated a valuable lot to be used as the home of the building for the Shelby County historical society.

The Boone County historical society organized October 11 elected John Herr, president; Herschel Richardson, vice-president; Ralph W. Stark, secretary, and Mrs. Mamie Clinger, treasurer. The Boone county organization plans to do things. Township historical societies have been organized in every township in the county and a thorough historical survey of the county is now under way.

Early in August the Ladoga Township historical society was organized, consisting of Scott and Clark townships in Montgomery county. This is reported as the first township organization in the state. The officers elected are W. L. Anderson, president; Lydia Hostetter, secretary, and Hallie Siderer, treasurer.

In Tipton county township historical societies have been organized in every township in the county. Regular meetings are held and the archeological and historical survey planned by the Indiana historical commission is being carried on in a thorough and vigorous manner.

The annual fall meeting of the Southwestern Indiana historical society was held in Boonville, Friday, September 29, 1922. A paper on the Wabash and Erie Canal, by Judge Edward Gough of Boonville; Early Recollections of Evansville, by Mary F. Reilley; Items of Warrick County History, by Herman Collins, and talks by Judge John E. Iglehart and Senator Roscoe Kiper were the chief features of the program. Judge Iglehart, president of the Southwestern Indiana historical society, pronounced this meeting "the most successful ever held."

Bulletin No. 16 of the Indiana Historical Commission, published in October, 1922, contains a complete copy of the proceedings of the meeting of the Southwestern Indiana historical society held at Evansville, January 31, 1922.

The Society of Indiana Pioneers has made two historical pilgrimages during the last few months to points of interest in Indiana. The first one was to Hamilton county where the members visited the site of the Conner mill and other points of local historical interest. The second pilgrimage was to New Harmony, Posey county, for a day's visit, viewing the many interesting historical sites in Posey county.

Increasing interest in centennial-historical celebrations has been noticed in several counties during the past year. In

Madison county early in September a centennial was held, featuring the historical development of the county's growth during the past century. Historical floats and exhibits of historical relics and a talk on the early history of Madison county by Frank P. Foster were the chief features of the historical celebration.

On October 12-13, Morgan county celebrated its 100th anniversary with a splendid centennial program. Historical pageants, parades, and an exhibit of old relics were the chief features emphasized in this celebration. Pictures of the parade and the crowds that assembled were made, and later shown in the movie houses in Martinsville. The Morgan County historical society brought the film and will show the pictures throughout the other towns in Morgan county.

Montgomery county in planning for its one hundredth anniversary by holding several meetings and historical programs in Crawfordsville and throughout the county. Clubs and other organizations are making special exhibits of relics and pioneer displays, and a thorough centennial awakening is noted among the citizens of this county. The centennial celebration will be held during the summer of 1923.

Reviews and Notes

Modern European History. By HUTTON J. WEBSTER, Professor in the University of Nebraska. D. C. Heath & Co. Pp. 671.

THE approach of the time for the adoption of textbooks for Indiana schools brings our interest more sharply again to the subject of history. The last decade has brought quite a change both in the view point of the subject and the subject matter of the text. The tendency for some time has been to throw the emphasis more and more on the present and in European history on those topics which have a direct bearing on American history. The Medieval period has lost its interest not only in the high schools but in the colleges. Professor Webster's text begins with the French Revolution though three brief preliminary chapters lead up to that point. Even in the restricted field there is a decided change in perspective. Military and political history cease to monopolize the text. Science, commerce, social struggle—not only among submerged classes but among submerged nations,—art—including literature, philosophy and law—and international politics receive almost as much emphasis. Development along these lines is the central theme of this text. It is provided with suitable bibliographies, topics for detailed study, illustrations and maps according to the latest demands of pedagogy.

World History. By HUTTON WEBSTER. D. C. Heath & Co. Pp. 759.

THIS text is intended for high school classes devoting one year to history. It is a brief survey of the progress of humanity from prehistoric times. Although the viewpoint here is different, yet there is more attention given to the modern world—half the book being devoted to the last century. Lack of space prevents any detailed review here further than to observe that the book is well organized, well written, artistically illustrated and abundantly supplies with aids to the teacher.

The University of Michigan. By WILFRED SHAW, Secretary of the Alumni Association and Editor of the *Michigan Alumnus*. Harcourt Brace & Co. Pp. 384.

This is a brief survey of the development of the University of Michigan and not a detailed history. The university was founded in 1837, though some shadowy antecedents had existed twenty years earlier. In many respects Michigan was the pioneer state university of the west, though not the oldest. Its struggles for existence are not treated in detail, but rather its achievements. The volume is beautifully illustrated and was doubtless intended partly as a combination annual for the old grads, a means of starting their memories working.

Why Wars Come or Forms of Government and Foreign Policies in Relation to the Causes of Wars. By Rear Admiral A. P. NIBLACK, U. S. Navy. The Stratford Co., 1922. Pp. 165.

THE substance of this volume is two lectures delivered by Admiral Niblack, one to the U. S. Naval War college, the other to the Grotius Society of England. In general his conclusion is that responsible government and popular control of the foreign policy would at least avoid some wars. He has little hope that war is at an end. "The country which is not prepared to fight for its existence had better make some other arrangements." "Any one who believes that the world is not now storing up for itself a lot of future wars is blind to the lack of disinterestedness which has governed many of the settlements growing out of the recent World war." Admiral Niblack's home is Vincennes, Ind.

Michigan Bibliography, A Partial Catalog of Books, Maps, and Manuscripts, Relating to Michigan. Prepared by FLOYD BENJAMIN STREETER. Vol. I, Mich. Hist. Com. 1921. Pp. 753.

THERE are listed here 7,072 books and pamphlets. Each is briefly described, if the title itself is not sufficient, and the libraries indicated where it may be found. The items are arranged alphabetically and each has a key number. On account of the close relation between Indiana and Michigan, both territorially and historically, I have found it a most useful book to keep at hand on the table. Volume II, 466

pages, contains a list of maps, atlases and manuscripts, together with an index to the whole.

Manchuria, Land of Opportunity, is a small volume of 113 pages tastefully printed and bound and gorgeously illustrated. It is sent out by the South Manchuria railway to furnish information to Americans of the transformation of Manchuria since the Russo-Japanese war. The province contains 365,000 square miles and has a population of 15,000,000. It is being developed by the Japanese.

The New Frontier, A Study of the American Liberal Spirit; Its Frontier Origin and Its Application to Modern Problems. By GUY EMERSON. Henry Holt & Co. Pp. 314.

THE leading thesis of this book is liberalism. This characteristic was acquired by the Americans in their contact with a new world and its new problems. Frontier conditions produced qualities of leadership and fair play which still inhere in the citizenship of the country. Liberalism is defined as a middle of the road course, a live and let live attitude. "The Liberal seeks the solid and eternal middle ground." The author, however, is not always clear in stating his position. Most liberals would hardly class the author as one.

Publication of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin 28, Proceedings of the 1920 and 1921 Annual Sessions. Raleigh, 1921. Pp. 128.

AMONG the articles are Vitality in State History, by J. G. de R. Hamilton; William Richardson Davie by H. M. Wagstaff; An Eighteenth Century Circuit Rider (Judge James Iredell of the U. S. Supreme Bench) by Frank Nash; an Old Time North Carolina Election by Louise Irby.

The Trend of History Origins of the Twentieth Century Problems. By WILLIAM KAY WALLACE. Macmillan, 1922. Pp. 372.

THE problems treated are Constitutional Government, the Politico-Theistic State, Nationalism, Rise of the Middle Class, the New Nationalism, Imperialism, the Super-State and the

Economic Question. The author discards the chronological treatment of history and seeks in the mass of events the origin and development of those ideas and policies which now engage the attention of politicians. The selections made and the adequacy and accuracy of treatment are the questions most important in a review of this book, but such a lengthy discussion would outrun the interests of this magazine. The field, however, is attractive and the author has written clearly. How convincingly depends largely on the readers' viewpoint.

Filson Club Publications No. 32, *The Filson Club and Its Activities, 1884-1922*. By OTTO A. ROTHERT, Secretary of the club, John P. Morton, Louisville, 1922. Pp. 64.

THE title of this pamphlet sufficiently indicates its nature. A list of its 32 publications and a roster of its members with the literary activities of each is included. Only a few of its valuable historical papers have been published. The career and work of the club have been eminently honorable. Its special field—early Kentucky history—is not exceeded in interest or importance, by any section of the country. The tragedy of the club came with the sale of the Durrett Collection to Chicago university. Col. Reuben T. Durrett was the founder and had always been its president and curator. As such he had accumulated about 30,000 books and pamphlets relating to the history of the Ohio valley. This magnificent collection was equalled only by the Draper collection of Madison, Wisconsin. On the death of Colonel Durrett in 1913, the collection went to Chicago. The Filson Club, however, still continues its valuable work. Otto A. Rothert is its secretary and R. C. Ballard Thruston has given it a home in his own private library.

The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society for May opens with a portrait and short biography of Henry Watterson. Other items of interest for Indianians are correspondence between Governor Shelby and General Harrison, Discovery of Kentucky, and some new facts about Abraham Lincoln's parents.

Publications of the Nebraska Historical Society. Vol. XX.

By ALBERT WATKINS. The Society, Lincoln, 1922. Pp. 400.

PRECEDED by the Editor's preface and a list of the officers and directors of the Society and followed by a general index, is a history, in short stories, of the valleys or plains of the Missouri and Arkansas rivers (comprehensively the Nebraska Country) and of the contiguous mountain region, covering the first six decades of the nineteenth century and compiled mainly from contemporaneous newspapers named in the preface.

First are the stories of the traffic of the fur traders of St. Louis—mainly French—with the Indians, along the Missouri, the Platte and the Arkansas rivers, by means of rowboats, saddle horses and pack mules. The progressive advance, from 1819, of steamboats up the Missouri; the movement at the same time for military protection of the Upper Missouri traders from Indians and British trespassers; the later construction of military posts along the Oregon Trail, to protect fur traders of the middle mountain region and the emigrants to California and Oregon, and afterward along the cut-off road to Montana; the cholera scourge at St. Louis and on the California and Oregon road, and of the smallpox among the Upper Missouri Indians; management of the public lands, mismanagement of the Indians and their segregation; political organization for the region thus opened for white settlers and the fierce partisanship incident thereto, especially touching the slavery question; character of the pioneer currency; origin of the Santa Fe trail, and its traffic; wars between gentile settlers and undesired Mormons and the retirement of the saints to Utah and the armed rebellion there; the continual hostilities between whites and Indians and among the Indian tribes; the annexation of Texas, and the part of it included in Nebraska; emigration to the Pacific coast and intervening territory; early mails; building of the earliest railroads west of the Mississippi, are also a part of this varied, vivid and often flash-lit history.

Ten full-page illustrations and a good map of the Nebraska country add to the attractiveness and usefulness of the vol-

ume. As a source history of this country from 1808 to 1861 it is one of the best volumes available.

The Wilderness Road to Kentucky; Its Location and Features.

By WM. ALLEN PUSEY, A.M., M.D. George H. Doran Company, 1921.

THE author in this book has achieved what he states in his preface was his aim—"the location of the famous Wilderness Road to Kentucky, along with its characteristic features." The location is given in a clear, concise manner, intermingled with stirring, romantic scenes vividly depicted, which keeps one's interest always alert.

Mr. Pusey qualified for this work by gleaning his material from notes made by old pioneers who traversed this road and by then traveling over the road himself, in order to confirm these accounts. The printing is of heavy type, which makes the book easy to read. The binding is of excellent quality. The book is profusely illustrated, being literally filled with picturesque scenes along the Wilderness Road. It also contains nine maps. The 131 large pages constitute a wealth of information concerning the road, arranged in readable order.

BARNEY G. CROWE

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1918. Vol. I. Washington, 1921. Pp. 487.

IN this first volume the secretary of the association summarizes the business transactions of the executive council, the president's address, and a group of papers relating to American agricultural history. For instance, among these documents, he gives first, the Proceedings of American Historical Association in 1918; second, Vagaries of Historians; third, Brief History of the Sheep Industry in the United States. On this particular subject there are many illustrative maps showing the rate of progress from 1840 to 1915. There are also a number of valuable tables. Fourth, Dr. John Mitchell, Naturalist, Cartographer, and Historian. Fifth, Historical Aspects of the Surplus Food Production of the United States, 1862-1902. Sixth, Early Days of the Albemarle Agricultural Society. Seventh, Minute Book of The

Albemarle Agricultural Society and the eighth, which is the final part of this volume, contains a directory of the American Historical association, which is at the same time to all intents and purposes a directory of the historical profession in America.

HELEN M. SNODDY

History of the United States. By CHARLES A. BEARD, and MARY R. BEARD. Macmillan Company, 1921.

FROM time to time marked changes appear in the style and texture of histories. These changes are chiefly noticed in advanced histories and only indirectly affect elementary histories. This book, however, designed for the seventh and eighth grades, follows out the new civic style of history text. The authors have interpreted a study of American history to mean a study in American civics and economics. It is divided into seven parts each of which carries out this idea. The first deals with colonial development, eliminating the accounts of discovery and exploration and, beginning with a discussion of colonization, with causes and effects on each colony, especially as to economic, social, and political phases. The second division takes up the Revolution, omitting the military history and emphasizing the causes and effects. The third period, "Foundations of Union and national politics," bridging the period between the "making of the constitution," and the "Presidency of Jackson," continues in the same manner with principles, rather than events, receiving the greatest emphasis.

"The West and Jacksonian Democracy," however, begins a new study. This is the tendency toward Union with the financial measures stressed and slavery assuming more importance. The "Sectional Conflict" which follows is treated like the "Revolution" with little or no military history. Statesmen rather than soldiers are responsible for the Civil war.

The last portion of the book is pure civics, taking up great movements such as industrial expansion, reconstruction, and labor and their effects upon politics. Most stress is laid on contemporary history ending with the election of President Harding.

On the whole, this history is worthy of commendation. It carries out its plan of institutional development consist-

ently throughout. If civics is to be the history of the future this book can be considered a worthy text. Its illustrations are good; its style is excellent, and its discussions accurate. It does not dwell on chronology nor on military history.

On the other hand it contains little historical narrative nor does it advance with the mathematical procedure of events common in such texts. Whether or not it will make a good text depends upon the light in which history is regarded and the advancement of historical thinking. H. M. B.

The Land of the Miamis. By ELMORE BARCE, Fowler, Indiana. The Benton Review Shop, 1922. Pp. 422.

A book of this nature will appeal to those who are interested in a readable, historically accurate account of the early struggles for supremacy in the Old Northwest, from the end of the Revolution to the Battle of Tippecanoe.

The author is a historian, writing in an attractive style and securing his material from a wide variety of sources. The greater part of the book is based on the letters written to the war department by Gov. Wm. H. Harrison. References are also made to a bibliography of practically one hundred volumes.

The English contrary to the provisions of the treaty of 1783 refused to give up their posts in the Northwest. They attempted to maintain possession of the fur trade by inciting the Indians to war against the Americans who were crowding in from the south and east. Within this territory was one of the most important tribes of the middle west. These Miamis could not help but resist when they found themselves being crowded farther away from the rich hunting grounds of southern Indiana and Kentucky. To share their hunting grounds with the Shawnees coming from the south; the Wyandots from the east; and the Pottawatomies from the northwest, earlier, had been enough to try their patience to the breaking point. But now to see the grazing land of the buffalo and the home of the beaver completely destroyed was too great a blow. The pelts of these animals when carried to the northern British posts meant a wealth of comfort and pleasure for the Indian. The loss of these was undoubt-

edly due cause for the Shawnee brothers, Tecumseh and the Prophet to attempt a coalition of the tribes in an effort to drive the early settlers back across the Ohio. On the other hand the author is correct in attempting to justify the acts of the early Kentuckians and others who matched their wits against the treachery of the red man in an effort to gain control of the rich unutilized prairie lands beyond the Wabash.

This narrative, interesting as a novel, but yet a sound piece of historical information, enriched by extracts on the wild animals, such as the beaver and the buffalo, a clear topographical description of the country, a close-up view of the life of the Indian, and the early pioneers who won this domain, comes to a climax with the breaking of the Indian power in the northwest and the ascendancy of American control in an account of the battle of Tippecanoe.

V. O. PINKERTON

Northern Ute Music. Bureau of American Ethnology, 1922.

By FRANCES DINSMORE, 1918, Washington, Gov. Printing office . Pp. 213.

THIS book is interesting and useful to students and others interested in folk lore, music or Indian history. It deals with the Ute Indians and their customs of living. In the account are included a history of the Ute Indians, origin of their name, tribal organization, descriptions of their homes, temper, language, food, industries and general customs.

The author, by careful investigation and research compiled a very fine collection of facts and interesting data on the Utes.

MARY E. CREIGMILE

Lincoln, An Account of His Personal Life, Especially of Its Springs of Action as Revealed and Deepened by the Ordeal of War. By NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1922. Pp. 474.

THE author has evidently made some effort to add something to our knowledge of Lincoln, although the result is doubtful. He has neither understanding nor appreciation of pioneer life and his indulgence in mysticism is entirely uncalled for in treating of so simple a character. Speaking of Thomas Lincoln: "An incurable vagrant he came at last to

the psychological moment when he could no longer impose himself on his community." "Somehow he obtained a rattle-trap wagon and two horses." "Vagrants, or little better than vagrants, were Thomas Lincoln and his family making their way to Indiana." "It is said he (Lincoln) astounded his father by refusing to own a gun. He earned terrible whippings by releasing animals caught in traps." "In central Kentucky, a poor village was Elizabethtown, unkempt, chokingly dusty in the dry weather, with muddy streams instead of streets during the rains, a stench of pig-sties at the back of its cabins." "In the rough and nondescript community of Pigeon Creek, a world of weedy farms, of miserable mud roads, of log farm houses." "Thomas Lincoln the next year journeyed back to Kentucky and returned in triumph to Indiana bringing as his wife an old flame of his who had married, had been widowed, and was of a mind for further adventures." "Yet she was a kind stepmother to Abraham who became strongly attached to her." It is generally assumed that a biographer knows something of the times, of the people, and manners among which his victim flourished, but perhaps it is not necessary. No great harm can come from such writing about Abraham Lincoln, but the libel on Thomas Lincoln and his wives is vicious.

A History of Minnesota. By WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL, President Emeritus of Minnesota University. Vol. I, Minnesota Historical Society, Saint Paul, 1921. Pp. 533.

IT is a pleasure to turn from the deluge of historical trash thrown on the market at present to the work of an honest historian. Dr. Folwell has at his elbow the collections of the Minnesota Historical society. He was president of Minnesota university from 1869 to 1884, was a soldier in the Civil war, and has been actively employed in governmental duties for near a half century. Besides thus understanding his state and his people and besides having a personal acquaintance with the geography of his state, he writes in a pleasing style. The volume under review covers the territorial period, from the appearance of Radisson and Groseilliers, about 1660, down to the constitutional convention in 1857.

A large part of the story is concerned with the Indians and their management by the government. The reviewer was especially interested in this, having waded through a corresponding chapter of Indiana history. There was so much speculation in Indiana, engaged in by such prominent characters, that it seemed wrong to tell the whole truth but the story told by Dr. Folwell relieves one of all apprehension. The Indian agents of early Indiana were mere kindergartners and what is more interesting a number of the same men who learned the rudiments of the game in Indiana became masters in Minnesota. Soldiers like Josiah Snelling, Amos Stoddard, Zebulon Pike, Stephen Long, Henry Leavenworth, and others also remind us of the close connection of the two states. Among the early governors was Col. Willis A. Gorman, a hero of the Mexican war and a congressman from Indiana previous to his appointment as governor. The struggle for cheap lands, the tribulations of the squatters, the building of railroads and the political strife all remind us in Indiana that our experiences were not unique—not even the contest with the British fur traders. It is an attractive story and one wonders why a sane person who can get such material will read any other kind. It is to be hoped Dr. Folwell will be able to continue the work, for it hardly seems probable a better author can be found.

Problems in American Democracy. By THOMAS ROSS WILIAMSON, Smith College. D. C. Heath & Co., 1922. Pp. 567.

THIS, I presume, is intended as a high school text in civics. First, as to two or three very minor matters. It seems the author has exceeded the limit in his acknowledgments. There is quite a little space wasted in the text telling what has been done or what is to be done. The "helps" at the end of the chapters are rather elaborate. These are not serious and are not offered as serious criticisms. The plan of the text is, first to present the concrete needs for government, that is, the problems confronting us, here and now; then the explanation of the government which must meet these problems. The problems are classified as economical, social and political. Rather each problem has three phases, economical, social and political. The discussions are clear and reasonably impartial.

The problems are well stated. It might in most cases have been better to reserve judgment, leaving conclusions to teacher and class. Aside from classroom use the book contains a fine, clear resume of our situation for the average citizen.

Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison, Volume I, 1800-1811. Edited by LOGAN ESAREY, Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Commission, 1922. Pp. XXXIV, 744.

This volume is the seventh of the Indiana Historical Collections, and the first in a series of Governors' Messages and Letters to be published by the Indiana Historical Commission. The second volume in the series will appear soon. It will complete the Harrison papers.

In the volume under review, the editor has brought together much matter in addition to messages and letters of Governor Harrison. Speeches, military orders, resolutions of the territorial assembly, proclamations, and various other official notices and instructions are included. The volume also includes many letters from the war department, and several from President Jefferson. The collection is a valuable one which will prove helpful to all students of the history of Indiana territory, and indeed to all who are interested in the history of the west, at that period.

The beginnings of a colony west of the Alleghanies are no less interesting than the beginnings of a colony along the Atlantic coast. Problems of government confronting the governor of a territory, the agent of the American federal government, were no less important than those that had confronted governors sent from Great Britain to the old thirteen colonies. The pioneers of early Indiana had to solve problems very similar to those solved by the early settlers of the seaboard communities. Often, the questions and tasks that faced the western colonists were more perplexing and difficult. The contributions to American ideals and institutions by those pioneers who established civilization in western areas where none had existed before were no less valuable than those of colonists of the older areas to the east of the mountains.

The Ordinance of 1787 provided a scheme of dealing with colonies that was new to colonial history, and Governor Har-

rison in carrying out this scheme was applying a political program without precedents to guide him except those furnished by recent experience in the older portion of the Northwest territory. In addition to the source matter presented in the Harrison papers throwing light on the Indian history of the time, on the life and customs of the pioneers, on the public lands question, and on the slavery issue, we have evidence of how well the scheme of colonial government operated. The people rejoiced in the opportunity to pass from the first stage to the second, and were inspired when they looked forward to the time when statehood would be conferred.

In his address to the new General Assembly on July 29, 1805, Governor Harrison said:

By a compact which is coeval with the establishment of government northwest of the Ohio, the right of being admitted, as soon as our population will justify, into the great family which composes the American Union, is firmly secured to us. Let us unite our exertions, fellow citizens, to hasten a consummation which is to restore to us all our political rights, and to place us in the elevated station of a free, sovereign, and independent State, equal to our sister States in dignity and rights. (P. 158.)

How many governors of colonies in the history of the world to that time had been privileged to utter such inspiring words. In the reply of the house of representatives we have the following:

We look forward with peculiar satisfaction to the period when our population will enable us to assume the dignity of a stable government . . . ; and we will readily concur in any measure that will have a tendency to promote our political emancipation. (P. 160.)

The response of the Legislative Council is even more eloquent of the capacity of the western pioneer leaders to appreciate the political significance of the fundamental provision of the Ordinance of 1787:

Although we are not as completely independent in our legislative capacity as we would wish to be, yet we are sensible that we must wait with patience for that period of time when our population will burst the trammels of a territorial government, and we shall assume a character more consonant to republicanism, and which alone will secure to the inhabitants of the territory a full participation of the rights now en-

joyed by the citizens of the United States. That period we hope is not far distant. (P. 160.)

The publication of this volume is an event in Indiana. The thanks of all interested in the preservation of the sources of our history are due to the Historical Commission and to the editor, who has done his work so well. Our General Assembly should have made possible years ago the undertaking of which the publication of this volume is a beginning. May no future session of the Indiana legislature fail to give adequate support to the work of the Indiana Historical Commission.

WILLIAM O. LYNCH



